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SOCIAL FORCES

May, 1936

SOCIAL SECURITY AND AMERICAN TRADITIONS

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University of Washington

THE hard experiences of the past six years have focused public attention in an extraordinary way upon the economic hazards of life constantly threatening the security of millions of American people. Prior to the present business depression we were not ignorant of the wide prevalence of low wages, inadequate living standards, unemployment, and the disabilities that accompany meager and uncertain incomes. These facts had been set forth from time to time in careful studies by competent authorities, and their implications were shouted from the housetops by protest groups and social reformers. The general public, however, seemed to regard the existing situation as endurable, if not inevitable, and was not inclined to support nationwide efforts to promote programs of social and economic security.

This apparent lack of interest in fundamental reforms by no means implies any widespread indifference to human misery. During the vigorous youth of our nation, opportunities for earning a livelihood have been so varied and attractive that we have built up the tradition that only the unworthy or the unfortunate ever come to want. Free or cheap land, expanding factories, and a growing demand for labor during the nineteenth century pro-vided unparalleled opportunities to live comfortably during the productive years of life and accumulate reserves for old age. Living under such conditions, it seemed most appropriate to deal individually with cases of need as they came to our attention. Our assumption has been that failure to support one's self or family grows out of some kind of personal breakdown or maladjustment and that each case of this kind should be studied carefully in order to determine the nature of the treatment to be given.

This distinctively American approach to problems of poverty has been fostered by our privately supported case work agencies which for more than a generation have dominated the field of poor relief and have endeavored to build up high standards for the investigation and treatment of the disadvantaged classes. Along with this private philanthropy we have developed county and state support of different classes of indigents in institutions, and to a less degree the distribution of poor funds to needy applicants by local government officials. This public charity, and more especially that which has been carried on under the auspices of county governments, has been administered frequently as a part of the spoils system of party politics and has generally been in

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bad repute with the more intelligent public as well as unsatisfactory to the recipients. During recent years efforts on the part of the public to bring about a better system of governmental care for the unfortunate have consisted mainly in urging the adoption of higher professional standards in case work procedure and in establishing state and county systems of public welfare in which the social work activites of the government would be more efficiently coordinated and administered.

With our sympathies for the unfortunate finding expression in activities of this nature, it is not surprising that social workers and civic-minded citizens never united in an effective demand for legislation designed to protect more adequately against the hazards of life. The humanitarianism which has been an important element in our American traditions stopped short with an individualistic approach to the problem of poverty and has been little concerned with the possibility of dealing with insecurity in a more comprehensive manner.

When the financial disater of 1929 swept down upon us with its privation and suffering to hundreds of thousands of formerly self-supporting American citizens, our natural response was an expansion of traditional methods of extending relief to those in need. The first official effort to mobilize our resources to meet this crisis was an appeal to private philanthropy to raise funds for the unemployed and their families. Many thought the American Red Cross should step into this emergency and be designated as the national organization to collect and distribute the necessary relief funds. As the situation became more acute, community chest budgets were expanded, local governments made large appropriations to relief funds through bond sales, and a few of the states set up emergency relief

administrations. So widespread was the demand for assistance that all efforts were entirely inadequate. During the closing months of the Hoover administration, the federal government was forced to come to the rescue through loans to state and local governments by the Reconstruction Finance Corportation. The establishment of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration by President Roosevelt was the next step in the assumption of responsibility for relief by the federal government, and rapidly there was built up a national relief organization which in its total expenditures has dwarfed all previous efforts to relieve human distress.

From the beginning of this administration of federal unemployment relief, it was assumed that the emergency was only of a temporary nature and that in a comparatively short time there would be a return to normal conditions of employment. Experiments were made with work relief and with the dole or direct relief, and at the same time huge public works programs were financed by the federal government in the desperate effort to prevent suffering among the unemployed and to stimulate business recovery. Up to the present time our enormous federal expenditures in the battle against the depression have been frankly of an emergency nature designed to deal only with the existing situation. In accord with our traditional policies, our emphasis has been primarily upon temporary relief of one kind or another sufficient to tide us over until the coming of better times.

Dissatisfaction with such a temporizing policy has been voiced by different groups during the past few years and various efforts have been made to initiate movements that profess to deal with our economic ills in a more fundamental and far-reaching manner. Among proposals of this sort are Upton Sinclair's plan to

end poverty in California, Dr. Townsend's scheme to restore prosperity through old age pensions, Huey Long's Share-the-Wealth Program, and Father Coughlin's advocacy of his National Union for Social Justice. However inadequate and unwise programs of this sort may be, we should not underestimate their wide popular appeal in a time when there is so much justifiable criticism of our badly functioning economic system. Followers of such movements, together with the more radical adherents of the left wing organizations, comprise a very considerable portion of our population and must be reckoned with as plans are made to solve our present economic problems.

The federal administration's reply to those who look beyond temporary relief in their search for security was its widely heralded program of social insurance, which was given official status in the summer of 1934 through the appointment of the Committee on Economic Security with instructions from the President to prepare suitable legislation to be presented to Congress. The remarkable growth of radical programs and fantastic nostrums during the depression doubtless made necessary a vigorous counter movement on the part of the government. This new undertaking of the administration attracted wide attention and was hailed as a statesman-like movement of far-reaching significance. Social security became, as it were, a popular slogan, and hostile criticisms of the dole were replaced by approbation of the new plans for safeguarding the future.

With the federal authorities definitely committed to the policy of social security, the rank and file of the people began to dream of a millenium in which all their needs would be fully met. The more radical protest group supported by many intelligent liberals eager for social justice

insisted upon a program of security sufficiently comprehensive and generous in its provisions to accomplish its full purpose. The business and industrial leaders, on their part, became greatly disturbed as they counted the financial cost and visualized the heavy inroads upon their accustomed profits. On the one hand, there was no disposition to consider problems of actuarial or economic soundness, and on the other hand, there was little willingness to debate the possibility or the necessity of heavier taxes upon vested financial interests as a method of providing more ample measures of security. The federal government, faced by the necessity of minimizing opposition of various powerful groups, attempted to steer a middle course which veered more and more to the conservative side as the date for the passage of the federal bill approached. In this legislative crisis the opposing points of view were so divergent that no basic agreement could be reached, and the general public, unfamiliar with European experience with social insurance, was in no position to pass intelligently upon the controversial issues involved.

Those who took the President's promises of social security at face value urged the passage of the Lundeen Bill which provided for the establishment of a liberal and far-reaching system of social insurance for all workers unemployed through no fault of their own. Its benefits, which in no case were to be less than ten dollars a week plus three dollars for each dependent, were to be extended without discrimination because of age, sex, race, religious or political opinion or affiliation. Moreover, there was to be no waiting period, it being specifically stipulated that workers were to receive benefits for all time lost. This comprehensive scheme of social insurance was designed to cover everybody, sick or well, young or old,

and provide for all the contingencies of life on a financial basis as adequate as that afforded by minimum wages. The workers were to contribute nothing, and the coverage was so complete that no one would suffer loss through part-time employment, sickness, old age, or any other disability that would prevent the earning of prevailing wages in his field of work.

These wide-scale provisions for security with no direct cost to the beneficiaries run counter to well-established experience with social insurance abroad and could not be put into effect under our present economic system without an extraordinary confiscation of wealth and surplus profits. While these considerations were sufficient to prevent the passage of the Lundeen Bill last summer, it is well to remind ourselves of the widespread American belief that liberal schemes for the alleviation of economic distress tend to weaken normal incentives to self-support. In the giving of relief we have always insisted that the recipient must receive less than when earning minimum wages. To set a scale of benefits which equals the prevailing level of earnings has been regarded as a dangerous procedure. The widespread belief that indiscriminate charity tends to create paupers has conditioned us against liberal provisions for those in distress, the assumption being that many more would be inclined to give up the struggle if assured a livelihood without toil on their part. Whether or not this is a justifiable assumption under present conditions, it nevertheless is deeply rooted in our traditions and cannot be ignored by those who seek security through a pension system financed by government funds.

The Social Security Bill, finally passed by Congress and signed by the President last August, would have been regarded five years ago as an impracticable dream of

social reformers. Despite the fact that it fails to provide the full degree of security demanded by many liberals, it initiates governmental policies that go far beyond anything undertaken in the past. Under this new law the federal government gives its approval to the principle of social insurance and takes the first steps toward the development of a national program of security for its citizens.) To spread the risks of unemployment in the future, the federal government through a federal-state tax offset scheme, makes it possible and advantageous for states to establish their own systems of unemployment compensation. The present needs of the dependent aged are to be met through federal subsidies to states that qualify for such funds by setting up old age pension systems in accord with federal standards. Provision for the old age problem of the future is through a national system of old age benefits financed by contributions from employers and employees. The Act also includes federal subsidies to states and local units of government for the aid of dependent mothers, needy blind, crippled children, and for establishing and maintaining more adequate public welfare and public health services.

While this federal program for security at first glance seems to be admirably adapted to its purpose, some of the fundamental features of the Act have been subjected to serious criticism. Competent critics doubt the soundness of the old age contributory pension program and the unemployment insurance plan, both of which in their final provisions departed considerably from those set forth in the early drafts of the bill. The old age contributory pensions have been made self-sustaining with no contributions from the government, a policy which European experience has proven unsound. The

unemployment insurance plan, likewise calling for no federal contribution, is to be financed by taxes on payrolls, which will tend to be passed to the consumer in increased prices, thus adding to the burdens of the workers. Furthermore, no national system of unemployment insurance being established, responsibility for such legislation is thrown upon the various states with no insistence that they enact such laws or meet basic requirements, thereby failing to ensure a proper measure of uniformity and doing nothing to meet the problem of interstate migratory labor. Doubts have also been raised concerning the constitutionality of the federal tax on payrolls, and some authorities think the Act will go the way of the N. R. A. when tested by the Supreme Court.

Equally serious are the criticisms of those who are disappointed with the limitations in the scope of the Act and the amount of its benefits. From the point of view of its possible beneficiaries, its provisions are so niggardly and are so hedged about with exceptions that the title, "social security," seems peculiarly inappropriate. In the matter of unemployment, the Committee on Economic Security has estimated that the amount available for compensation during the next fifteen years will be only one-sixth of the probable wage losses through unemployment. Moreover, large groups of gainful workers including farmers, domestic servants, public employees, many casual workers and others totaling one-third or more of all gainfully employed will not be covered by the proposed plan of compensation. In the provisions for the aged, the federal matching of state and local expenditures for free old age pensions stops short at a total monthly pension of thirty dollars per person. The benefits to the aged through the contrib-

utory insurance system will vary widely depending upon the wages received and the number of years employed, but in most cases will be disappointingly small. If a worker goes into the system at 20 years of age and during the working period of his life loses only five years through unemployment and earns on an average $100 a month, he will be entitled to benefits amounting to barely more than $50 a month at the age of 65.

These inadequate amounts for old age assistance do not become available until the age of 65 although it is well known that under conditions of our modern industrial life, many thousands of workers break down long before they have reached the legal age for retirement. This necessitates in any adequate program of social security proper provisions for health insurance. Illness was included by the Committee on Economic Security among the chief causes of insecurity, and it was hoped that safeguards against this hazard would be made a part of the security program sponsored by the Administration. Unfortunately, the active opposition of vested medical interests made this impracticable and it was found necessary to postpone indefinitely this important aspect of the security program. |

While political expediency, no doubt, is responsible for some of the shortcomings of this new legislation, in a very real sense this hesitant and conservative effort to make life more secure for the mass of the people is an outgrowth of our past experience and has been shaped by our conventional attitudes toward social and economic problems. The regulation and regimentation necessary for the successful administration of a wide-reaching system of social insurance is distasteful to Americans whose pattern of life has been formed under the influence of pioneer conditions. Our individualistic spirit and heritage

of democratic traditions predisposes us against more than a minimum of governmental control unless it brings with it very obvious and tangible benefits. Our unwillingness to submit to a large measure of federal control except in times of national emergency makes impracticable at the present time any thoroughgoing national system of social security.·

We must remember also that social insurance has never before been considered seriously in this country as a comprehensive program vitally essential to the welfare of a large proportion of our people. Our previous experience with social insurance has been in its application to special classes such as dependent mothers, the blind, those disabled in industrial accidents, our soldiers in time of war, and more recently the dependent aged in some of our states. As far as the rank and file of our people are concerned, we have believed that the extraordinary opportunities before them for employment and advancement in economic status make unnecessary any provision for insurance beyond what can be secured through their own efforts. It has been recognized, of course, that some will be forced to the wall by difficulties of one kind or another and become unable to support themselves. If these unfortunate people do not fall within the special classes for which pensions are provided, we make them the recipients of our bounty and expect them to receive gratefully whatever aid is bestowed upon them.

This traditional attitude toward the problem of poverty has been seriously questioned during recent years and has become more and more untenable during the trying days of this financial depression. We have been forced to realize that economic insecurity hangs like a dark cloud over the majority of our people in spite of all their habits of thrift and

industry. In our programs for security we can no longer limit our efforts to those who have sunk into the depths of poverty. Our responsibilites, whether we desire it or not, have expanded to include vast numbers of people who demand not charity but reasonable provisions against the hazards of life. The establishment of social insurance as a national policy has been inevitable under these conditions. The amazing rapidity with which the Townsend plan for old age pensions has swept over the country is evidence of the growing revolt against our traditional conceptions of humanitarianism. Our unwillingness to set up a sufficiently liberal program of social insurance has given strength to this ill-advised but strongly appealing panacea of the Townsendites, who already have a sufficient following to make them a power to be reckoned with in the approaching political campaign.

As a matter of fact, we have been witnessing during the past few years an important drift away from blind reliance upon many of our time-honored traditions. Modifications of deeply rooted customs and attitudes come about most readily not through educational propaganda foisted upon the people by leaders and reformers, but through reflection by the people themselves upon conditions of life that are felt to be unendurable. The widespread unemployment, the lack of assurance that there will in the future be sufficient jobs for all who desire to work, the growing resentment against the failure to remedy the obvious weaknesses in our economic system, have directed attention in a most vivid manner to the shortcomings of our traditional ways of dealing with these problems. Through the necessity of adjustment to this crisis, public sentiment throughout wide sections of our population has taken its first step away from the benevolent paternalism of an indivi-

dualistic society and is now insisting upon a program of social insurance broad enough to give a fair degree of protection against the economic hazards of life.

It would be a mistake, however, to overestimate the strength of this popular revolt against the insecure lot of our lower social and economic classes. The strong demand in many quarters for more liberal governmental pensions does not mean that the nation as a whole is ready to turn away from old conceptions of humanitarianism and give first place to a more adequate program of security. On the contrary, a great deal of the present interest in social insurance is a natural product of the depression and may decline as we proceed along the road to economic recovery. To the extent that the Social Security Act is regarded by the public merely as an emergency measure designed to strengthen public morale at a critical time, it may seem now to be a step forward but not necessarily a permanent one. The fate of some of our constructive wartime legislation should offer convincing evidence that well-established traditions may be only temporarily disturbed by adjustments and changes made during a period of stress and strain.

In view of the conflicting attitudes and points of view that retard progress toward social security, we have little reason to believe that we are entering into a new era of social justice that will differ fundamentally from the past. About all that can be said with assurance is that our traditional conceptions of humanitarianism are beginning to give way before the growing demand for methods more in accord with changed conditions. This changing point of view has been accelerated by the depression, but on the whole is proceeding slowly and varies widely among different classes of people. While the principle of social insurance has

received the stamp of federal approval, no influential public opinion during the past session of Congress supported the demand for a more adequate and comprehensive insurance program. It is significant also that no vigorous public protest was made when Congress adjourned last summer without appropriating the administrative funds necessary to put the Social Security Act into operation. The nation's primary interest is in business recovery and if this is attained within a reasonable time, it may be difficult to secure aggressive support of efforts to liberalize our national program for social security.

Our ineffective efforts to mitigate the hardships of the depression give reason for discouragement to those who hope that necessary steps toward social justice can be accomplished through reforms made within the present economic system. Even in the midst of the greatest financial crisis in our history, all attempts to improve in any comprehensive way the lot of the millions with low incomes have encountered the opposition of vested interests determined to maintain the status quo at all costs. This strong resistance to changes clearly in the interests of human welfare is responsible for our slow advance toward an adequate system of social insurance.

There is a failure on the part of many of our business and industrial leaders to realize that a marked change has come over the rank and file of our people during the past six years of this depression. Out of the hard experiences of this period of uncertainty and suffering there has developed not merely a growing feeling of discontent but also a feeling of recklessness that grows out of despair. The patience of many has been strained to the breaking point because of hopes unfulfilled. Whereas formerly people were inclined to welcome even small steps

toward the improvement of their lot, now they are in no mood for compromise. This new spirit is clearly manifest in our recent strikes where the rank and file refuse to accept the agreements entered into by their leaders. No movement among the mass of the people is more significant than the rapid growth of so-called rank-and-file organizations of white collar workers as well as manual laborers, all dominated by the idea that the leader-ship of their superiors can no longer be fully trusted.

It is unfortunate that our established traditions and habits of mind make it so difficult for our nation to respond more rapidly to the growing demand of the people for greater measures of social security. Let us hope that there is still time to solve this problem before increasing bitterness between social classes makes a peaceful solution impossible.

THE SWING OF SOCIAL CHANGE

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I

THE theory that social change is cyclical has had some vogue. One form of the idea holds that the social order is subject to oscillations in which the movement is back and forth between periods of group ascendancy at one extreme and individual liberty at the other. In other words that there is a constant swinging from coercion to free-dom and back again. That such inter-vals occur in the history of nations would not be difficult to show, but whether history has regularly pursued such a course may be open to question. How-ever, Western society in recent centuries has clearly swung away from an earlier authoritarian mode to what has been known as a period of liberalism. Was that shift from one type of social order to another a swing from one pole to the opposite whence there will be reaction in pursuance of an oscillating process or was it the beginning of a trend in a con-tinuous development that will witness no turning back but only full steam ahead to a millennium of ever-enlarging liberty? Only time can give the answer, but there are indications that a swing back to a new authoritarian society is under way and hence a demonstration in fact of the oscillating process.

One must, perforce, seek in any existing social order the seeds of its decay, or, if preferred, the factors that are operating to bring it to an end or transform it into another type. Hence it will be well to analyse this period of liberalism under which we have been living and closely scrutinize its developments to discover if we can whither it is trending. But first of all the meaning of liberalism should be clearly grasped. In the main, I suppose, it has meant the negation of the institu-tions developed under feudalism together with the highly centralized and arbitrary system of social control associated with them. As Charles A. Beard has pointed out in his *Democracy and Reconstruction*, the chief work of liberalism has consisted in the conquest and control by the masses of institutions already made by superior classes. These institutions have been ex-ecutive agencies, councils and upper class parliaments, courts of law and the com-mon law made by the courts, agencies of justice which were of royal origin, the

jury system which came of Roman *In-quisitia*, municipal and local institutions, and universities and secondary schools. This dissolution of royal and aristocratic power into popular control has registered itself specifically in such affirmations as the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the American Bill of Rights. In these instruments are enumerated or implied such things as freedom of movement, of contract, of assembly, of belief, of speech, the privilege of jury trial and bearing arms, the right to organize and to engage in business, to promote trade, to vote and to hold office. In brief, liberalism has registered the release of the individual from all sorts of restraints. It has turned him loose from over-much control imposed upon him to do largely as he has seen fit and to the exercise meantime of such self-control as he could or would impose upon himself.

In the forefront of the liberalizing movement, dominating and directing it, and in large measure if not wholly responsible for it, have been the economic forces of the modern capitalistic-industrial era. Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, the Magna Charta of economic individualism, and the American Declaration of Independence, the great instrument of political liberty, did not appear in the same year wholly by accident. They were expressions in different forms of the underlying forces of the age. The economic forces have, of course, been predominant, particularly since the industrial revolution of the late eighteenth century. The capitalistic system may, therefore, be taken as the key factor of this interesting period. Proceeding then upon the assumption that within the capitalistic-industrial complex the factors are to be found that have shaped and are transforming the period of liberalism, it will be necessary to inquire into the nature of modern capitalism. What are its essential elements, how has the system been elaborated and what has it done to the social order, are some of the questions whose answers will help disclose the social process.

If we may follow Sombart's analysis, capitalism in its simpler form is characterized by three basic traits.[1] They are acquisition, competition, and rationality. Acquisition or the quest for profit is its ruling motive. In response to it goods are produced not for use primarily, but for exchange. Thus wealth-getting fails to conserve personal values and to consider the social welfare. Everything except gain tends to be lost sight of in the industrial world. The second trait, competition, has prevailed in all capitalistic relations. Men have struggled to secure freedom in order to pursue more effectively their individual interests. In the clash of interests the utmost contempt for and disregard of human rights or the social well-being have come to dominate the business community. The third trait, rationality, signifies the utilization of every means whatsoever, technical, organizational, educational, etc., to enhance gain regardless of the short or long-run consequences to society. As these three traits have worked themselves out, capitalism itself has developed and become full grown. In its grown-up form it has become thoroughly mechanized with social relations among those engaged in its productive processes highly institutionalized rather than personal, and regimented rather than free. Corporate and highly centralized organization has superseded all other forms. Monopoly of control and the consequent concentration of wealth have arisen while over all an elaborate system of financial credit manip-

[1] W. Sombart in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, III, 196.

ulated by a very few men has come to hold sway.

Just how this system has affected the general social order is the question that especially interests us. Viewing the system historically as both promoter and product of liberalism and *laissez faire* individualism, it is pertinent to inquire what in turn has happened to liberalism and its accompanying individualism as capitalism has developed. Has the sphere of liberty been widened or narrowed under its influence? In other words has it in the long run made for freedom or fostered the increase of control? The answer can be found if at all only by taking account of the many changes that have taken place in the capitalistic industrial period and by balancing them and formulating an opinion upon their total influence. To do that adequately is a much longer and more difficult task than a brief paper such as this can promise to undertake. However, it is possible to indicate some of the more important changes and to suggest their possible significance.

Among these the first in point of time at least is demographic. The capitalistic-industrial system has greatly affected both the numbers and the distribution of the social population. Growth of numbers was everywhere stimulated until at the end of the nineteenth century Europe counted nearly three times as many people as she had had at any time during the six centuries preceding 1800. Industry with expanding world markets and trade was able to sustain such populations as were undreamed of under a purely agricultural economy. For when nations were able to manufacture and sell goods abroad the number of their inhabitants ceased to be limited by the supply of food and raw materials afforded by the home environment. They could import materials and food and ignore the ratio of

land to people. The result was a rapid and steady multiplication of numbers in response to the new sustaining system which seemed in spite of Malthusian warnings to have almost limitless possibilities. It was only when the market limits had been reached and the possibilities of expansion were virtually exhausted by the checks and counter checks of economic imperialism that population pressure began to manifest itself and the rate of growth to slow down.

The pressure that has of late become particularly severe is due in part to the fact that the outlet lands for surplus numbers have closed the gates against them. During the last century twenty-five to thirty millions migrated to the United States and many millions went elsewhere. Perhaps sixty millions left the continent. This relieved the tendency toward over-crowding. Now Europe faces the two-fold crisis of an economic imperialism that has become blocked by its own development and an overgrown population that has no place to migrate. Thus the pressure of population which is an important factor in the behavior of European nations is one consequence of the operation of the economic forces.

Meantime while numbers were rapidly increasing an equally rapid redistribution of the population was taking place. The factory system was responsible for extensive urbanization. In the chief industrial countries, as is commonly known, the greater part of the people have become city dwellers. In the British Isles and in Belgium four-fifths of the inhabitants live in sizeable aggregates. In Germany it is two-thirds and in several other countries the number reaches one-half. Although urbanization was the most significant phase of the redistribution there was also, as already suggested, an amazing increase in international migrations due to the

expansion of the capitalistic industrial system from its European center into remote areas. The consequences directly and indirectly of this urbanization of peoples and of the conditions which gave rise to it are of far reaching importance. Let us take note of some of them.

One is the alteration of the social structure. In several fundamental ways is this to be observed. It is seen, first of all, in an extensive and ever increasing division of labor and in the differentiation of functions among urban people. Literally hundreds of occupations have appeared where aforetime there were but scores. A typical instance is the case of Leipsig, Germany, where some years ago 557 distinct occupations with numerous subdivisions were listed. That compared with not more than 70 or 80 occupations in ancient Athens indicates the degree of change. This differentiation of occupations has its chief significance in the specialization of talents and interests thereby fostered. The entire trend has been away from fitness to perform all sorts of functions to an adaptation for only minute parts of functions, from the wholeness of action to fragmentation. This in turn has affected the social structure by causing it to rest upon the absolute interdependence of extremely specialized units instead of upon the coördination of fairly complete and independent ones. There is thus, from one viewpoint, especially in the urban community, a kind of compulsory solidarity which the industrial system has induced.

A second structural development is seen in the multiplication of organizations. This in considerable measure is a natural expression of differentiation. Scarcely any phase of life or human interests remains unorganized. So true is this that it would be proper to describe the urban socius as having become a

corporate or incorporated person instead of a separate individual, for certainly much of his thought, feeling and conduct is not that of a self-directing, separate entity but that of the group or groups that dominate him. Life is forced to assert itself more through interest mechanisms than through personal initiative. In fact when it is so split up as it is there is no other alternative. The primary group has been generally superseded by the secondary and in the change the freedom and autonomy of the first has given place to the discipline and dictation of the last.

A third structural development associated with urban capitalistic society is to be noted in a tendency toward accentuation of stratification. As this type of society has come to maturity it has become more and more sharply divided into classes. The old feudal orders that were supposed to have been ushered out by the advent of liberalism have been restored under new forces and under circumstances often far worse for the many than was feudal serfdom, since the new have brought servile conditions without certainty of status or security of living. The three chief strata known as the bourgeoisie, capitalists or large employers, the petty bourgeoisie or small independent entrepreneurs, and the proletariat or wage earners correspond roughly to the barons, freemen, and serfs of the feudal age. What matters most in this stratification is the ratio of the wage-earners, employed and proletarian elements to the others, for they have steadily increased until their numbers constitute a majority. As to this there can be little doubt although it is claimed that in western Europe the middle class in recent decades has increased not only absolutely but relatively more than the proletariat. Land settlement has added to the number of peasants, the

growth of urban populations has increased the number of small shopkeepers, new techniques have multiplied the independent artisan class, and the enlarged functions of government have enhanced the official group until the bourgeoisie have more than held their own against the proletariat. Thus, for instance, it is said that the latter class does not constitute over 45 per cent of the population of Germany today.

However true this may be, the fact remains that many of these so-called middle class people are themselves wage-earners or are lacking otherwise that independence which is needed for non-proletarian status. If we take the figures for the United States, which are not substantially different from those of other capitalistic-industrial lands, the over-whelming majority are not independent. Of the 49,000,000 who constitute the numbers that are normally gainfully employed some 43,000,000 are classed as wage earners. The other 10 per cent, or some 4,000,000 to 6,000,000 are the employers or independent entrepreneurs. However two-thirds and more of this latter group are farmers who own and operate their own businesses. Deducting these from the whole there remain only about 1,703,000 independent business men in America. Of course there are professional and artisan groups that should be added to make up the middle class. But the strictly bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie are in the minority. These strata are by no means fixed estates for the individuals found in them. There are in all countries ladders by which individuals climb or descend from one class to the other as the case may be, but for all that, the class structure remains, appears to grow more rigid and to allow fewer escapes out of the lower strata.

A fourth structural change has to do with the enlarged sphere of government. The sphere of legal control has constantly encroached upon social relations. Regulation and restraint have grown apace. The realm of compulsion has tended to overshadow that of voluntary action. Thus the community has been magnified and the individual minimized. What has transpired in urban areas has been transferred to the state as a whole by virtue of the supremacy of the city in modern society. The aggrandizement of government in recent generations in those countries most given to industrial capitalism has registered reform efforts. Once these were in the direction of release and emancipation from government, but the time came when they began to be of a coercive and restrictive nature. In increasing degree they have continued to be of that sort, thus reflecting the unfolding character of the social order.

These structural changes have induced and been accompanied by a new social psychology. Although it has been asserted that the impulse to freedom is indigenous to the urban community, that *Stadt Luft macht frei*, the truth is the claim is more a tradition of the struggle of a past age than an actuality of the present day. In fact such freedom as the city affords pertains more to physical mobility than to mental liberty or personal autonomy. Any amount of moving about occurs among urban laborers. The capitalistic system conduces to a certain physical fluidity. So much so, indeed, that a considerable body of laborers have become virtually tourists. But all in all it is a mobility that indicates instability of relations rather than a growing freedom for the class involved.

When attitudes and mental habits are taken into account the social structure tends to produce an unfree and dependent type. The psychological effects of minute

division of labor where men are compelled to be more and more preoccupied about less and less has been such as to cramp the outlook and understanding. A knowledge of the whole of anything is generally wanting. It has become so difficult as to be impossible of attainment for the many. An indifference toward the larger aspects of life arises and is transferred to the social situation. The latter appears to the ordinary man as a tangled maze defying comprehension. Overwhelmed and bewildered by the complexity and bigness of things this man concludes that he has neither time nor ability to bother with what is not his immediate business. He, therefore, functions in a shrinking sphere while he has to live in an expanding social order. He fails to rise above the trivial, personal, and petty things of self-interest. In fact he takes refuge in the realm of the relatively inconsequential; and where the omnicompetent are needed, the narrow, ignorant, indifferent and incompetent are found. Thus the average urban man "leaves the impression of a primitive man suddenly risen in the midst of a very old civilization," as a Spanish writer has put it.[2] So we have what may be called the servitude of narrowness and bewilderment springing from specialization and complexity.

At the same time there is an enforced interdependency among men, out of which has grown almost endless organization motivated by a strong sense of interest solidarity. However it is a solidarity not of the whole community, but only of parts and divisions that ignore or are at variance with the interests of the whole. Under the circumstances the feeling of reliance upon the interest group or organization is strong. To the latter the will and wish of the individual must be subservient. It is likely to do much of the thinking, speaking, and acting for him. Group assertiveness is thus substituted for personal initiative. A limited or restricted corporate sense supplants the sense of self.

That solidarity which issues from the subordination of individuals to organized interests hinders and often prevents any general community of feeling or harmony because the diverse interests generally become reinforced by special ideologies. Thus the mind of society is torn asunder by the chaos of irreconcilable opinions as the direct effect of desperate conflicts of interests.[3] These conflicts and divisions have grown apace everywhere in urban industrial society. The forces of disunity and disharmony tend to become dominant. They are multiplied and strengthened under conditions of competition, mobility, political liberty, imperialism, and a rapidly expanding culture. So far have they developed that the psychological structure of society has become wholly unstable. The problem of how to get such unity and harmony as a nation must have to carry on is likely at any moment to assume the place of first importance and to evoke extreme action in its behalf.

The class clevage that characterizes the social structure aids in compounding the psychological chaos, for there are distinct class ideologies as well as minor group interest ideologies which clash in the struggle for survival and advantage. At the present time western nations are torn by such strife much as the Middle Ages were torn by theological disputes. The new dogmatism is far more serious and dangerous than the old, for it involves the masses not merely the intellectuals and its stakes are the social order rather than the Christian myth. It is a curious fact how philosophies have arisen and

[2] J. O. Y. Gassett, *The Revolt of the Masses*, p. 52.

[3] Briffault, The Breakdown of Traditional Civilization—*Rational Evolution*, pp. 208-209.

how groups and classes arraying themselves in such armor have made the normal state of modern society one of almost continuous controversy. Apropos of this John Dewey has said, "The philosopher sees movements, which might have passed away with change of circumstances as casually as they arose, acquire persistence and dignity because thought has taken cognizance of them and given them intellectual names. The witness of history is that to think in general and abstract terms is dangerous; it elevates ideas beyond situations in which they were born and charges them with we know not what menace to the future."[4] Thus one may cite the dogmas of Kant, Hegel, Fichte, Nietzsche, Rousseau, Locke, Machiavelli, Marx, De Gobineau, Mill, and Lenin as cases in point. It is significant that the dogmas of some of these philosophers have become class ideologies, the dialectics of conflict. This adherence of groups and classes to dogmas and dogmatic mindedness is another specie of servitude—that of ideologies—with which the modern world must reckon. Indeed the consequences have already been momentous.

The class structure gives still further psychological results. Through business and industrial regimentation it induces irresponsible obedience to authority. The great mass of the employed, mere job holders, are subservient to the dictates of bosses. The individual has been completely subordinated, his prestige destroyed. His mental habits have become those of obedience. Personal initiative and responsibility for the many are negligible quantities. There is little need or opportunity for their exercise, hence men are much as cogs in the machine turned by it, turning with it and under its com-

[4] *German Philosophy and Politics*, p. 12.

plete control. They are the robots of corporations and almost, if not quite, as lacking in freedom of action. To serve the company in such a way as to keep the job is about the limit of their felt obligations. Habits of this sort are reflected in a kind of mass subserviency and irresponsibility. It is a subtle servitude, a kind of psychological villeinage, which runs through our great urban populations. It is sometimes argued that it is not their work habits, but their leisure practices that determine the conduct of men, hence it is said, however much people may be enslaved while at work, they are free at play and therefore they are made autonomously responsible individuals. If this position were well taken, and there is little to indicate that it is, the question would remain are people so free at play as is sometimes assumed? The servitude of social conformity confronts them in play as well as in work. There is everywhere and at all time an animal fear of the group. Men are concerned lest they offend and incur the disfavor of their class, hence a tense anxiety to conform. This appears objective in the lock-step behavior and the standardization of the tastes of men in mass.

The aggrandizement of governmental function has also its psychological concomitant in the servitude of dependency. More and more the citizen looks to the organized community to do things for him. However reluctantly private rights may have been relinquished, there is no hesitancy in accepting increasing amounts of government services on the part of urban populations nor is there any important revolt as once there was against increasing coercive tendencies. The attitudes of reliance upon and acceptance of governmental action are widely manifest and growing in significance.

The several ways in which the minds

of men have been shaped by reacting to the social structure are the effects of normal conditions, but conditions themselves are far from fixed and stable; they are constantly changing. There are few long enduring and permanently established relations such as once prevailed. Industrial society is a rapidly evolving society. Out of its changes arise endless maladjustments and they in turn become important factors in determining the psychology. Unemployment, irregular work, sickness, disease and degeneracy, suicide and insanity, dire poverty and dependency are the outward evidences of the change in social structure, industrial processes, and techniques. Maladjustments indicate how industrial development constantly forges ahead of personal readjustment, how the processes of destruction outrun those of construction and leave a trail of disorganization and human ruin in their wake.

One of the main by-products of technical improvement and rationalization of industry is a surplus of labor, the unemployed for whom means of livelihood are lacking. It is assumed by some that the displaced will be replaced in newly created occupations in an endlessly expanding system, but whether that assumption is valid or not is a mooted question. We know as a matter of fact that replacement lags virtually all the time and under the best of conditions so far behind the demands for it that unemployment has become a chronic malady of the entire capitalistic-industrial world. Whether, as some contend, it grows cumulatively worse or not, its reality and persistency cannot be discounted. Nor is there any disputing the fact that when for years in succession as many as a third of the employables of a nation continue jobless they become shattered and demoralized as by some fatal malady. So the system by which western

society gets its living, motivated though it be by the notions of freedom of labor, contract, competition, markets and profits, is not only unable to provide a large portion of the population regular and adequate opportunity to work and earn the wherewithal to live, but is undermining also their ability to do so. It is a paradoxical situation indeed that bids every man exercise his own initiative, to be free and to make his own way, while at the same time it takes away his occupation, denies him any other, and destroys him. Such a state of affairs is a worse one than feudal serfdom, for under the latter the villain was at least assured of work and a livelihood.

Moreover, to make matters worse, schemes of rationalization have produced a cumulating mass of unemployables, by superannuating men in mid-life. For the most part such men have no other recourse but public relief. Add to this growing multitude those other multitudes who, by virtue of incompetency and incapacity largely or wholly induced by the conditions under which they have worked or by the inadequacy of their wages, and who have been plunged into pauperism and dependency, and the problem of insecurity appears. By it the masses of every country are menaced. The fear it engenders has taken the place of the ghosts and devils of primitive man and been substituted for the pestilence that stalked at midnight and the plague that walked at noonday in pre-capitalistic ages.

Modern society growing conscious of its failures has endeavored to do something about them. Social insurance, pensions, doles, poor relief, and charities of various sorts have been provided. Most of these have come under mass pressure. At best they are inadequate and rarely directed to the prevention of maladjustment. Individualism for the many still fails to

find security and corporate interests refuse to guarantee it. Therefore philanthropy and the state must shoulder the load.

How great and growing a burden it is may be seen in the case of England where a decade ago fully one tenth of the people were dependent upon unemployment benefits, poor law relief, or charity. The expenditures for this purpose had jumped from $100,000,000 in 1891 to $515,000,000 in 1918 and to $1,113,000,000 in 1925. Similarly in every nation of the capitalistic industrial world maladjustments have grown apace and the cost of the most meager relief has steadily mounted. The hope of effective amelioration by the redistribution of national income through taxation in support of social services, which was so full of promise two decades ago, has gone aglimmering in the face of the enormous volume of public debt burdening every nation.[5] It is, however, the psychological effects that signify most. Obviously larger and larger sections of the population are acquiring habits of public dependency. Not of their own will but of necessity are they being subsidized and pauperized by the state. When their own devices no longer avail they turn to the community.

Thus, as we have tried to indicate how in various ways a psychology of servitude has been fostered in masses of the population by the system under which we are living, specialization and complexity have brought bewilderment, indifference, and division relative to the social whole. Organization has induced subserviency and subordination of the individual to the group, together with a feeling of corporateness and solidarity. Class cleavage and regimentation have given conditions under which conformity, unreasoned obedience, and irresponsibility have become

[5] G. D. H. and Margaret Cole, *The Intelligent Man's Review of Europe Today*, p. 597.

prevalent. Finally, the aggrandizement of government and the failure of individual initiative under circumstances of chronic maladjustment have induced attitudes of dependency on a wide scale. Thus there are millions dependent upon corporations for bread-winning jobs, millions dependent upon mass action in labor unions for protection, millions dependent upon parties or political factions for social guidance and action, millions dependent upon crowd conduct and belief for personal principles and standards, millions dependent upon propaganda sheets for all their ideas, millions dependent upon the good-will and generosity of others for the bread they themselves are unable to win, and millions dependent upon governmental aid when all other help fails. Servitudes such as these engendered by the capitalistic-industrial system are manifestly at variance with it and a menace to the forms of liberalism upon which it rests.

There are of course countervailing forces and tendencies that must be taken into account. The more or less conscious revolt of the undermen of society against the conditions of their existence is not to be ignored. Unrest, protest, resistance, challenge, and rebellion seem to indicate the persistence of the will to freedom. But in spite of all the forces of that nature it is a question whether freedom is not in its last struggles. Are not the contradictory tendencies which we have pointed out in the system paving the way to the nullification of liberalism and *laissez faire* individualism in most of its forms? Is not a new type of man coming into action, a type quite the opposite of the political and economic man of the eighteenth century, wholly different from the free citizen of the nineteenth century, an incorporated or enslaved type of man, all too ready to accept and to impose the bondage of abstract citizenship and abstract liberty?

Are these tendencies not carrying the social order to the opposite pole of group domination and extreme control? Is not western society even now in the midst of a crisis wherein the conscious choice and acceptance is being made in form of what has already been largely accomplished in fact?

Although these developments had been in process before the World War, they had not reached a climax and precipitated a crisis. The war greatly accelerated the swing from freedom to group control. Governments even in the most democratic states became greatly magnified and autocratic. People were regimented on a scale and to a degree unknown in modern times. Mass obedience to arbitrary authority became almost universal and a matter of course. The power and influence of the group over the individual attained extreme limits. The state took on new significance everywhere not only in matters of control but in what it could do for its people. Thus great populations learned to look to the state for all things essential, for what they were to eat, believe, feel, and do. They were in numerous ways subjected to conditions that reinforced to the limit those attitudes and habits which long before the war had been undermining individual freedom.

Hence the war period marked the beginning of a crisis for western society, a crisis, however, that did not end at Versailles, but has continued to this hour. In some instances the turning point coincided with the war itself which brought an end to liberalism. In other cases the war only pushed things towards that goal which was reached a little later or may yet be attained.

It must of course not be forgotten that the greatest diversity of conditions prevailed in the several nations. Some had gone far in liberalism, some had gone

but a little way, and others had scarcely started upon its program. There were especially contrasting conditions east and west of the Rhine. But it is a notable fact that virtually nowhere has any nation definitely emerged from the crisis on the side of liberalism. The thoroughly autocratic and feudal states and the more or less democratic ones have both alike swung to the opposite position. Even where the initial impulse was toward greater freedom, it did not and could not last, for the social structure, habits, and attitudes seemed to preclude it. Therefore the choice settled upon the opposite pole. Societies revolved in the direction in which they had evolved. If, in the light of its past, it was a forgone conclusion that Russia could not go free, it was no less so, although because of very different conditions and reasons, that Germany or Italy could not do it. Shifting of power from one class to another has in some cases taken place, but the old modes of control have either persisted or been restored under new forms.

Quite naturally along with this has come the definite repudiation of the democratic dogma. Political democracy sponsored by the bourgeoisie and proclaimed by them to be the grand panacea for all social ills throughout the nineteenth century is given only lip service or is being rejected as an evil in itself. The franchised masses are slowly becoming disillusioned over the value of performing the ballot ritual of the democratic cult. Mass voting in form but class rule in fact have convinced many that the promises of democracy cannot be fulfilled and that its claims are largely mythological. When, therefore, the idea is discarded and the substance degraded, the form can hardly remain. The old bottles can no longer hold the new wine.

Forms which the masses believe to be

better suited to the altered conditions will therefore naturally appear. In fact they had already done so in the soviet, totalitarian and corporate states which, whatever their differences, all represent extreme types of social unification and group ascendancy over the individual. They are attempts at a better adaptation of means to ends in social organization. Society is thus endeavoring with varying degrees of success in the new states to secure the necessary unities, to effect the coordination of interests, rid itself of contradictions, put an end to classes, eliminate the futilities and confusions of parliaments, make the will of the group supreme and substitute for capitalistic individualism, which has become intolerable for the many, some kind of communal responsibility. From the limited democratic state to the all-in-all state is the obvious trend. And the people will apparently approve it and like it, for they have been prepared for it. As the German students, for instance, were said to be prepared for it when they wanted a change "which would put them under the orders of someone who would do their thinking for them."[6] Moreover, if the new authoritarian state confers some benefits or can delude the masses into thinking that it has or is going to do so, the people will proclaim it to be the grand panacea for all the ills of this capitalistic-industrial civilization just as they once hailed the democratic state.

In seeking and choosing this type of state, society will, if I mistake not, be acting in obedience to the general law of group behavior, formulated by Franklin H. Giddings,[7] to the effect that purposeful social reform normally and in a general way adopts programs and policies that

[6] Peter Lieberknecht, "A German Student Speaks," The Nation, November 8, 1933, p. 534.

[7] Scientific Study of Human Society, Ch. 8.

look in the direction of the genetic trend. In other words, telic change follows roughly the pathway of mechanical social drift. This simply means that society in seeking to extricate itself from the difficulties which it encounters does not right about face and move in the opposite direction from that in which it is headed, but on the contrary awakens to a realization of its direction and vehemently affirms its perseverence therein. Thus reform becomes mainly an intensification of the basic principles and practices which are operative at the time. Are not the spectacular performances of western society today illustrating this principle?

II

Incidentally this swing of which we have been speaking has permitted or perhaps invited dictators. As Oswald Spengler has it, the Caesars have returned. Dictatorships hold the center of the European stage and have done so throughout the whole post-war period. They are not, of course, a unique phenomenon; they have appeared rather often in human history and generally, if not uniformly, in response to very similar circumstances. If we ask what these circumstances are, the answer is, war. For it is most frequently, if not invariably, in such connections that they have appeared. Thus we see them often in the Greek and Roman age, in Italy of the Medici, in England under the Commonwealth, in France during the revolution, as well as in much of Europe since the World War. But merely to call attention to the fact that dictators are more commonly associated with war than with any other one set of conditions is by no means adequately to account for them. More specific and proximate causes must be sought. Nor does one have to search far before it

becomes apparent that dictators are a phenomenon not especially and essentially of war, but in general of confused times. Times, for instance, of the decadence of interest grouping, of disintegrating social structures and systems, times of bewildering complexity, times of grave danger and fear, times when constituted authority fails and the masses face intolerable living conditions, times of extreme social conflict and disharmony, are among the chief occasions when dictators arise.

Their frequent and close association with war is due without doubt in some measure to the fact that after a period of direct action the force method of solving social problems is likely to take precedence over the deliberative or rational method. The public is then especially prepared for the use of force, since a large part of the population has been "steel hardened in the flames of combat." The military frame of mind has become a social legacy, and men trained for military leadership have come to the fore. This, of course, was preeminently true of the peoples of the belligerent countries in consequence of the World War. Hence, anyone seeking to rise to power on a program and by means of direct action was pretty sure to command a well-equipped following. A further spur to such action came also from the confused political conditions where woefully perplexed and hopelessly divided classes, parties, and parliamentary bodies delayed, vacillated, and failed. In normal times the public is patient and long-suffering, but the experiences of prolonged warfare make it short tempered and ready to seek whatever it desires by major force.

In his theory of the origin of society, Thomas Hobbes sensed one fundamental truth that has bearing here, even though the general doctrine may have been quite unsound, when he insisted that people had surrendered their wills to an absolute sovereign in order to escape the intolerable conditions of incessant warfare. The facts are they have often done this very thing when intolerable conditions have prevailed. It seems to be a very common practice. The conditions, however, under which people will hail a dictator may occur quite apart from regular and organized warfare. When dissention, strife, confusion, maladjustment, and hopelessless reign in times of so-called peace, conditions may be wholly analogous to those of war of which Hobbes spoke. To escape them people will readily and willingly submit themselves and their destinies to such leadership as may arise. It seems quite the natural thing to do so, for after all personalities are the most elemental forces that society knows. When, therefore, conditions betray men,—policies fail, political parties flounder, the best conceived programs prove futile, and everything seems chaotic—people are ready to fall back upon that ultimate factor, a personality. By the acts of one man society thus seeks to break the otherwise unbreakable impasse.

There is, as a matter of fact, real economy of effort in such a move, for when everything is reduced to a person it becomes simple, obvious, concrete, tangible, vocal, and dynamic. Seemingly insoluble problems are thus resolved to the form of a living being, hopelessness fades away under the light of a human countenance, and confusing counsels are silenced by the voice of one speaking with authority. Thus it is that social situations appear to become metamorphosed into heroes,—dictators.

If we are to judge by what has frequently happened in the past, it appears that society knows no solution for its difficulties, when cooperation becomes impossible and no meeting of minds is feasible, but the solution afforded by

dictatorships. Professor Giddings in discussing the behavior of heterogeneous populations called attention to social situations under which only personality can function. "In heterogeneous communities," he observed, "it is always some form of personal leadership either that which grows out of fear or that which grows out of fascination that is the nucleus of organization. Men who are not sympathetic, who do not understand each other, who, therefore, cannot arrive at intelligent agreement obviously cannot cooperate of their own free initiative. Their cooperation in political, industrial, or religious matters is possible only if, in their inability to organize themselves, a leader is forthcoming who can organize them. The more heterogeneous they are the more certainly will their obedience spring from fear and under such circumstances the more certainly will their leaders' rule be coercive."[8] It is essentially the psychological situation created by heterogeneity that Giddings emphasized and it is a very similar heterogeneity which characterizes confused times and which consequently plays into the hands of personal leadership and gives dictators.

The social conditions that generally make possible and call for a dictator explain also the type of leader and his methods. It is invariably the extraordinarily fearless, self-confident, resolute, persistent, ruthless, and resourceful type that plays the rôle of dictator. Such have been Lenin, Stalin, Mussolini, and Hitler to mention only the more outstanding ones. In the midst of communal weakness they have been pillars of strength because they have been positive and fanatical of purpose. With programs definite or vague, rational or

emotional, constructive or opportunistic, practical or Utopian, as the case may be, they have been hailed as deliverers because they have offered something when nothing else availed.

The method by which the dictator wins a following and elevates himself, where he does not get power conferred upon him as a legally installed official or where he does not reach it by armed threat or conquest, is by some variety of emotional appeal to the bewildered classes of society. At all times the emotional is more effective than the rational appeal, but in confused times feeling is more fully available than on other occasions. There are fewer inhibiting influences. For at such times the social structure has crumbled, groups based on interests have broken down and have lost their identity in an amorphous mass which readily responds to romantic suggestion, symbolism, and irrational sentiment. Those who seek to elevate themselves sense this and make the most of the opportunity. Both Mussolini and Hitler, for instance, have been well schooled in mob psychology. Mussolini acknowledges his indebtedness to one, Pareto, whose *Mind and Society* is a first-class handbook for demagogues. Lenin with all his philosophical hard-headedness and practical hard-heartedness was master of the multitude, for he knew it and kept his finger on its pulse as perhaps no other man ever did. At the opportune moment he could act and call the masses into action to support his cause.

The sources of deep feeling which the aspirants to power have been able to tap are found in the fears, hates, prejudices, memories, and beliefs of the defeated and disorganized rank and file. These emotions are awakened and mobilized most easily by the propaganda of blame. By it the ills of society are laid

[8] F. H. Giddings, *Elements of Sociology*, p. 227.

to specific things which are personified, if possible, but at any event made the scapegoats for the sins of the nation. This procedure might well be christened, the scourge of "Anti-isms," for the fundamental appeals and in several instances the chief doctrines of the movements giving present-day Europe its dictators have been negative, denunciatory, against something or other, rather than of constructive emphasis. The negative appeal is, I suppose, generally the surest and soundest sort of tactics to use with the group, for people can always be aroused more readily to hate than to admire, to condemn than to praise, to destroy than to build. It is easier to be against than for something. Thus in Russia the people were aroused and inflamed against the war, against the capitalist nations, against the bourgeoisie; in Italy against the socialists, pacifists, and communists; in Germany against the Versailles treaty, the communists, Marxists, the Weimar Constitution, the Jews and other races, and "Das System." The rôle of "Anti-ism" with its attendant bitterness rising, as it easily may and in some instances has, to hysteria and mob madness, as in Germany, becomes a major factor in the program. It overshadows all else.

To implement this unleashed emotionalism most of the chief devices known to mob psychology are likely to be brought into action. The shibboleth, the uniform, parades, and various other political symbolisms, together with heresy hunting, the creation of cults and mythologies, have been freely employed both in Italy and Germany. Under the myth making impulse Russia has her idolized prole-tariat, Italy her heroes, and Germany her Nordics.

It is doubtful, however, if all their demagoguery would have sufficed to elevate the modern dictators had they not made good use of organization created *de novo* or found ready at hand. The outstanding dictators have all been geniuses in promoting and utilizing this means. Lenin captured the Soviets, Mussolini organized his cells, and Hitler the Nazi groups. By means of these units in each case the dictator mobilized the classes that responded to him and eventually came to power.

Finally, wholly apart from their types and methods, dictators must be interpreted as society's way of making choice or of re-affirming choice of policy. In them the social situation becomes definitely personified. They represent the group coming to consciousness and asserting itself in the way to which by a gradual process it has become habituated. When societies get lost and confused dictators arise to set them firmly on their course and lead them out of the wilderness. The promised land of relief may or may not be attained. In fact, it more often proves elusive than real and the leader finds himself supplanted by another or deposed by circumstances that have effected a new stabilization in institutions rather than in men. At most, dictators have been emergency measures. Presumably that is all they are today. But however much of a temporary and passing phenomenon they may be, they are definite manifestations of the swing of society away from individual liberty to greater group ascendancy and domination—a phase which cannot be looked upon as a transient one.

SOCIAL MUTATION IN TURKEY

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INTRODUCTION

SINCE 1920, speakers, books, pamphlets, news items have painted social changes taking place in Russia so colorfully that it seems as if Russia were the one region where radical transformations are taking place. The Turkey that I knew before 1914, with its mores and institutions, the Turkey that I saw in 1927, and the Turkey that I have been following from a distance ever since, present to me a no less significant laboratory in observing both the fact and the processes of social changes. As a matter of fact, social changes in Turkey are more radical and drastic, more colorful and concrete, more miraculous and meaningful, than they are elsewhere.

Although Americans are tired of hearing about the "terrible Turk," the halo painted around the head of a single Turk in recent years has made Turkey an object of new curiosity. Stalin, Mussolini, Hitler, even the late Pilsudski, are names of paramount importance. No less significant is the name of Kemal in the rostrum of the latter-day political destiny-determiners.

For generations "Turkey" has been a geographic expression. In spite of recent radical transformations, this situation still remains. There is not one Turkey; there are Turkeys. Whatever is true for one may not be valid for the rest. Both Angora and Constantinople are parts of the present Turkey, yet the mentality and behavior patterns are distinct in these two centers. To generalize about Turkey is as hazardous as to speak about the United States of America. At best we may consider the prevalence of the dominant pattern which bears the trade mark "made in Angora." It is impossible to know the real Turkey; even the Turks themselves do not know it. Turkey is a *process*; it is in the making; it is becoming. To discuss every social change in Turkey would be presumptuous on the part of one man. The field is so large that it becomes necessary to limit the range arbitrarily.

OLD TURKEY

To the bizarre novelist Turkey has been an attention-arresting territory with enchanting harem life; fantastic mosques of many minarets; turbanned muezzins with shrill voices calling the "faithful" to prayer; donkeys and camels carrying oriental wares through the streets; Sultans in their seraglios debauching themselves in the manner of typical Oriental potentates; men squatted in cafes smoking water-pipes, drinking thick, mud-like coffee from small cups, playing or watching backgammon; merchants bargaining for a fraction of a cent in the bazaar; soldierly gendarmerie swinging their sabres as they walk with self-important gait; and the simple peasant in his quaint, colorful garb parading through streets with the speed of a turtle. In one word, it is a land of exotic objects and persons. To the missionary it is the land of the heathen, where the hereditary enemy of Christianity has made his headquarters for centuries; where the spirit calls the "quick" to the conversion of the unconvertible. To the industrial magnate and the financier it is the land of raw materials which may be appropriated for a mess of pottage via bribe-seeking officials, including the Sultan himself.

through the simple medium of extension of credit. To the philanthropist it connotes poverty, superstition, ignorance, depravity, and occultism crying aloud for the expansion of the blessings of enlightened Western culture. To the average man it is synonymous with massacres, brutality, injustice, and exploitation, perpetrated by the outlandish Tartars on the peaceful Christian minorities. Such are the current mental pictures of Turkey and the Turks.

Historically considered, however, Turkey has been a theocratic monarchy controlled by an ecclesiastical officialdom; jealous of established religious tenets; concerned with the preservation of *status quo* for the sake of security; suspicious of foreign diplomats, traders, industrialists, missionaries, and above all, bankers; fatalistic in action; militaristic in spirit; credulous of superiors; fanatical in devotion; heterogeneous in population; imperialistic in domination; extensive in territory; and stagnant in culture. Consequently, the institutions inaugurated by the originators of the Ottoman Empire, irrespective of utility, have survived. The worship of the past has been the supreme virtue; tinkering with novelties the intolerable sin.

THE FACT OF SOCIAL CHANGE IN TURKEY

The dormant Turkoman, after the shock of the World War, has awakened. Turkey is not what it was in 1914, nor does it intend to remain what it is now. The present rulers have swept away ancient landmarks; they have destroyed age-old beliefs; they have substituted new behavior patterns for the axiomatic old ones. In a word, the static Turkey has been transformed into a dynamic one. No one, even if he be the representative of a persecuted minority, can review impartially the development of Turkey during the past fifteen years and fail to observe drastic changes for good or ill.

The contrasts between pre-war and post-war Turkey are stupendous and varied. Out of the ashes of the Ottoman Empire arose the young Turkey; the empire was wiped out, and a nation emerged; the sultan made his exit and a presidential dictator came in; Constantinople, the time-honored capital and the pride of many empires, passed into oblivion with the rebuilding of Angora as the seat of the Republic; monarchy, under the fiction of the divine rights theory heard its knell and the bells of Grand National Assembly began to ring; the Caliphate, with its Holy Moslem wars, abdicated and in its place thoroughly secular jurisdiction was enthroned; the ignoble chains of capitulations were shattered and local laws were exercised upon all Europeans in the land; the heterogeneous population, with the minorities as a thorn in the flesh, became purged and the racial predominance of the Tartar established; chattel-like women received their magna charta of liberation; the veil, a symbol of seclusion and inferiority, was discarded; the colorful fez was supplanted by the machine-made hat; the Turkish calendar dated from the birth of the Nazarene rather than from Mohammed's hegira; Friday, the day of festivity and worship, changed positions with Sunday; the aesthetic Arabic script gave way to the utilitarian Latin alphabet; Persian and Arabic conglomeration of the Turkish language was simplified by the substitution of the "original" words of the once Caspian nomads; through translation, the Koran, incomprehensible in the Arabic, became the property of the people instead of remaining the privilege of an established priestcraft; folk steeped in ignorance and bred in illiteracy saw a new light in

free and universal education; theological seminaries ceased their preachings of superstition, and the so-called gospel of science began to send its messages through their halls; government by modern civil, penal, and commercial laws took the place of an obsolete ecclesiastical jurisprudence; the idealization and glorification of the dead past was renounced in favor of a progressive outlook; parasitic living became taboo and work habits were initiated; Oriental fatalism withdrew and Occidental determinism entered in.

Such are the major transformations that one observes in Turkey during the brief period of the past twenty years. So great is the modification in policy, if not in practice, that we may consider the entire manifestation a *mutation* rather than a mere change.

Radical changes, be they in the life of a person or of a nation, do not spring up miraculously. They have their history of impregnation, development, birth, and growth. They are the logical culmination of a series of factors operating in the national life of the Turkish people. It is impossible to examine within the confines of this article each and every one of these changes evidenced in the recent history of Turkey. Therefore, it is necessary to select a few which seem to me rather important and give the reasons for their emergence. We may consider the following: (1) national purism, (2) the abolition of the Sultanate and the Caliphate, (3) initiation of dictatorship, (4) secularization, (5) the emancipation of women, (6) installation of work-habit, (7) westernization in general, and (8) pro-Russianism.

PROBLEMS FACED BY TURKEY

1. *National Purism.* As early as 1878, a group of younger Turks and some repre-

sentatives of minorities, influenced primarily by French literature, had become aware of the lack of a gripping spirit of nationalism in Turkey. Furthermore, the mounting woes and tribulations of the Sultan were considered as signs of the impending disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Empire was like the Roman Empire, and the Sultans like the Caesars; they dictated over people of diverse racial and cultural backgrounds. The unity maintained was through administrative machinery; there was no psychological cohesion which is essential for the maintenance of the spirit of nationalism. Islam was a bond, indeed, which united the faithful wherever they might reside. Yet the Mohammedans under British jurisdiction could not act freely enough in behalf of their co-religionists in Constantinople. Islamism preached a gospel of religious empire like the Roman Catholic church, but it was incapable of reconciling itself with the decisive spirit of nationalism. As a matter of fact, it "forbade nationalism."[1] Meanwhile the Europeans, since the Reformation, had been emphasizing nationalism. The young Turks, long before the appearance of Mustafa Kemal, sensing their country's predicament in the European scene, advocated nationalism. However, they were routed as "rebels" until Kemal Pasha was willing to sacrifice Islam for the realization of his nationalistic policies. Pan-Islamism had been a *faux pas;* Islam, therefore, was a useless adjunct. It stood in the way of nationalism. Hence its abolition.

Besides Islam, another element stood in the way of Turkish nationalism, *viz.*, the minorities. Within the Ottoman Empire were the remnants of subjugated races, such as the Armenians, the Greeks,

[1] Halidé Edib, *Turkey Faces West*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930, p. 97.

the Jews, the Syrians, and the Kurds. Turkey was neither by nor for the Turks. After the Congress of Berlin the European imperialists always found an excuse to interfere with the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire for the protection of the "rights of the minorities." The latter looked to the European powers for their salvation. Consequently, through such favoritism Greece and Bulgaria declared independence; Bosnia and Herzegovina were attached to Austria; Crete, Cyprus, and Tripoli were severed from the empire. The Armenians were clamoring for independence; the Kurds were unruly; the Jews wanted a new Jerusalem; the Greeks conspired to annex Smyrna. The presence of a large number of minorities within the empire therefore was a ready invitation for foreign intervention which always clipped the wings of Turkish nationalism. Nationalism and racial heterogeneity were irreconcilable. For the safety of Turkish nationalism, racial purification was deemed indispensable. The shortest way to achieve this purification was through the extermination of the minorities. As Hans Kohn states:

Today there are neither Greeks nor Armenians left in Asia Minor; the only national minority still existing is composed of the Kurds, in number about 1,200,000. Mustafa Kemal has made an effort to solve their problem by trying to make Turks of them. He has pressed his action with cruel determination.[2]

And J. A. Spender adds:

I was told quite calmly that there is no longer an Armenian question, because the Armenians who survive are too few to be dangerous or to intrigue to any purpose with foreign powers. Those who remain will be quite useful in their place and will be unmolested.[3]

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[2] *Foreign Affairs*, "Ten Years of the Turkish Republic," 12: 146. October, 1933.

[3] J. A. Spender, *The Changing East*, New York: Stokes, 1926, p. 52.

Thus it is easily understandable why nationalism demanded homogeneity as opposed to racial heterogeneity in Turkey. "Turkey for the Turks" is a logical sequence in the scheme of nationalistic solidarity. The Turks have met the problem most realistically and have achieved the end.

Obviously enough, the rise of intense nationalism in Turkey is one of the most outstanding cultural facts. It is taken as a sure means for the preservation of the long sought solidarity of the Turkish people. Sociologically speaking, here we have an evidence that wherever cultural assimilation is not achieved by the customary channels of social interaction, the end sought may be secured by the annihilation of the unassimilable elements.

2. *The Abolition of the Sultanate and the Caliphate.* Since 1517 the head of the Ottoman government has assumed the rôle of a dual sovereign, *viz.*, political and ecclesiastical. Like the popes of the Middle Ages, and the succeeding monarchs, the sultans united the Church and the State in their person. Thus the caliphate and the sultanate were fused. Meanwhile, the caliphate carried more weight than the sultanate by virtue of extension of power into non-Turkish lands and peoples. The sultan, after all, had political jurisdiction over only a fraction of the people over whom the caliph exercised authority. Historically considered, both the caliph and the sultan have been opposed to change. Their strength has resided in the preservation of the *status quo.*

After the organization of the Grand National Assembly in 1921, and the formal break between Angora and Constantinople, there were two outstanding issues which needed immediate settlement: (1) the abolition of the monarchy, and (2)

the abolition of the caliphate. These two attitudes, anti-monarchy and anti-caliphate, arose with reference to a single objective, namely, the establishment of a republic. The presence of these two institutions had offered the greatest obstacles to the political emancipation of Turkey. Hence the initial ardent desire for their extermination. To get rid of the sultan was comparatively easy as his army was defeated and rendered impotent by 1921; also the history of recent weak sultans had not made the office popular. It was the nationalist army that conquered the invading Greeks, resisted the European diplomats, bargained with them advantageously, settled disputes with Soviet Russia, and secured recognition of the Angora government by the Allies. The sultan was reduced to insignificance; he could be dictated; he could be intimidated, even ignored. Hence, on November 16, 1922, the national assembly accused Mohammed VI of treason and ordered him to be placed on trial. The next day the sultan fled to Malta. Two days later the national assembly separated the sultanate from the caliphate by discarding the first.

The abolition of the caliphate was necessary but not so easy a problem as the sultan and his office. It had too many far-reaching implications relating to the entire Moslem world. No Ottoman Empire could exist without this religious bond, but neither could a new sovereign republican state exist while this all-inclusive religious force prevailed. The Arab mind with a metaphysical conception of the universe had always looked upon "legislative power as belonging to God, and executive power to the Caliph."[4] The clergy, concerned with keeping society according to established

patterns of life, for the security of their own class and that of the sultanate, had ever been conservative and stood for the continuation of the prerogatives of the caliph. They were *first* the representatives of the caliph and *then* of the sultan. They could get along without the sultan, but without a caliph their very lives would be destroyed. To the nationalists, however, who were imbued with European political culture patterns, an incongruity as long as the caliph retained the executive power and legislated in the name of God. Furthermore, as representative of the entire Moslem world, national sovereignty of Turkey could not be maintained; on the contrary, foreign issues would always impinge upon the activities of the new Turkish government. Thus the assembly, faced with socio-cultural realities, was forced to strike at the root of the Moslem conservatism. The leaders of the new order preferred to sacrifice even Moslem unity for the preservation of the Turkish nation. The origin of the idea to abolish the caliphate must not be sought in the anti-religious attitudes of the ruling members of the national assembly. These Turks were still religious, whether the rulers or the ruled. But as long as Islam remained the religion of the country, the republic would bear the pressure exerted by the Arab and other Mohammedan units through the person of the Caliph. Political strategy alone is responsible for the radical act that the leaders undertook. In separating the church from the state, and abolishing the caliphate, the Turk has demonstrated that political patriotism is stronger than the religious sentiment among these leaders. Whether the rank and file Turk shares the views of the rulers is problematic; that he has to abide by the decisions of the latter is self-evident.

3. *Inauguration of Dictatorship*. In de-

[4] Halidé Edib, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

claring Turkey a republic on October 29, 1923, the Grand National Assembly put an end to a seven centuries old institution of personal sovereignty. No doubt the members of this august body were jubilant as they represented the "nation" and felt responsible only to the "nation." Years of labor and untold sacrifices of predecessors were now crowned with glory. Sultans—the whimsical, the capricious, the intolerant, the exploiting, the parasitic—saw the end they deserved. Long live the republic! The rule of the *many* thus was substituted for the rule of *one*.

The new Turkey coming out of the throes of wars was the work of "doers" and not of "talkers." To retain the newly gained national status, continued effort was necessary. It is excellent to work in the name of the people, but work must go on, plans must be made, and the public must be harnessed to the task. No victory in war can be attributed to the accomplishment of the individual privates; sooner or later credit goes to the general. History books record no acts of privates; they recite the accomplishments of officers who distinguish themselves. The Turkish emancipation from foreign control was the result of an outstanding military man. Mustafa Kemal had defied the Greeks and the Allies and emerged triumphant. He was the "brains"; he was the policy maker and executor.

Because of the war habit or the long established system of servility, the rank and file Turk is accustomed to receiving orders. Personal initiative, the western concept of individual rights, has had no opportunity to become a part and parcel of the average Turk, whether he is of the peasant or the official class. The constitutional form of the republican government was beyond his comprehension inasmuch as it did not exist in the cultural historical background of the Turk. There was so much to be done in the new country! Heretofore, recognized leaders had done the work without consultation. Why should they be consulted hereafter? It would be easier to delegate someone else to do it than yourself. This is the psychology of the republican government which emerges out of a rich monarchical background.

Furthermore, hero-worship accentuates the feeling of dependence upon acknowledged leaders. Mustafa Kemal was, unquestionably, such a hero. The country needed doers; here was one who had done more than any other could. Why not entrust the helm of the government into his hands? Such was the reasoning of the simple-minded.

Madame Halidé Edib, that staunch exponent of the constitutional form of government, the spreader of the feminist movement in Turkey, and the unofficial agent *par excellance* for foreign propaganda, wrapped in her nationalistic enthusiasm, rationalizes to this effect: "No other country in the world stands more in need of 'doing' than Turkey. In such a country a strong, centralized government, if not a dictatorship, with stabilized forces backing it, is inevitable and perhaps necessary."[5] These words were written after the complete establishment of Kemal's dictatorship in the Turkish republic. An accomplished fact found intellectual, logical justification. Undoubtedly the new Turkey had too many problems to be entrusted to inexperienced hands. Experts like Kemal and Ismet could attain the nationalistic ends with less expenditure of effort. Mussolini had done it in Italy; Russia was doing it through a small minority. Turkey was not big enough to necessitate a control

[5] Halidé Edib, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

by an elect minority; just one or two would be sufficient to mold the nation's destiny during this period of *transition*. The Grand National Assembly could see a halo around the head of but one of its members, and he, anxious to carry on the work already started, saw himself the only candidate. Taking advantage of counter-revolutionary movements, he succeeded in promulgating the Law of Maintenance and Order which made him the virtual dictator. Ever since, the constitution and the assembly have remained as meaningless symbols. Turkey is governed with a written constitution and an elected assembly in theory; in fact the rulership resides in one man. As Halidé Edib admits: "The Turkish dictatorship has the advantage of working behind a constitutional screen, thus retaining a European facade, although a sham one."[6] One may be tempted to paraphrase the historic statement and say that in New Turkey Kemal is the State. Today "no opposition party is tolerated in Turkey. The freedom of the press and assembly (guaranteed by the constitution) are drastically abridged."[7]

The question, why do the newly emancipated Turks tolerate such a dictatorship, would naturally arise in some minds. Among several the following conjecture is offered. It is a matter of cultural inertia by force of conditioning the collective behavior of the mass. "Back of all the shifting scenes the phlegmatic old Turk has remained, one of the most unchanged and unchangeable types in Europe."[8] Dictatorship under sultans and caliphs is the only form of government the Turk has known. The cake of cus-

tom is very hard in this country. Constitutional procedure is beyond the range of the average Turk's comprehension. Kemal the dictator is merely a substitute for the sultan the monarch. No other form of rule would thrive in a country where the concept of individual liberty has had no opportunity to become established. And no other form of government for the regulation of the *internal* affairs of the country would a fighting general tolerate. Turkey has no democratic heritage like England, France, and the United States of America. Dictatorship as a substitute for monarchy is in accord with the established behavior pattern of the Turks. Hence its emergence and possible continuation until, through the gradual infiltration of democratic principles, the new absolutism is rendered useless. For the present it is a cultural necessity. Assimilation of new culture is a gradual process. Coercion of a new culture pattern when incompatible with the old pattern may be tolerated temporarily but cannot be taken as a permanent substitute.

In this connection it may be stated that Mustafa Kemal as a dictator is more powerful and more free than the late sultans. Whereas the latter had to consider the caliphate and its implications, Kemal has to consult no one except the national assembly. The members of the latter body give obeisance to the will of the former for untold and untellable reasons.

4. *Secularization.* March 3, 1924 is a red-letter day for the Turks. At one sitting three far-reaching laws were passed by the Grand National Assembly relating to: (1) the expulsion of the dynasty, (2) the abolition of the caliphate, and (3) the creation of the Commissariat of Public Education to take the place of the theretofore existing, venerated depart-

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 258.

[7] Kirby Page, "Turkey in Transition," *World Tomorrow*, 12: 501, December, 1928.

[8] "Turkish Facts and Fancies," *Foreign Affairs*, 3: 589. July, 1925.

ment of Religious and Pious Foundation. With a stroke of the pen, religion was relegated to the background and secular education thrust to the foreground. The closing paragraph of Sheikh-ul-Islam's proclamation on November 23, 1914, calling the faithful to participate in the "Holy War," reads: "Mohammedan Warriors! With the aid of God and the intercession of the Prophet, you will defeat and crush the enemies of religion, and you will fill all Mohammedan hearts with eternal joy in accordance with the divine promise." The war was fought and won politically but the "enemies of Religion" were neither "defeated" nor "crushed." On the contrary, in addition to the host of Christian infidels arose a more dangerous type within the rank and file of the "faithful" which ate at the very root of Islam. Although article two of the constitution of 1924 states that "The religion of the Turkish State is Islam," today no religious encumbrances remain. The abolition of the caliphate not only weakened religion officially but destroyed it altogether as an integral part of the state. Consequently one writer, four years after the official abolition of a state religion, bemoans the loss of religious zeal in such tones:

Unfortunately, one of the results of the great social revolution which has swept the country in recent years and is still in progress, has been a falling off of religious interest. It is only to be expected that a people so rich in old tradition and custom as the Turks would find it difficult to adjust to a new and entirely different order of things. . . . Today many of the mosques both in the city and in the villages are empty most of the time.[9]

Presumably the Turk is becoming secularized. The department of Religious and Pious Foundation is gone.

[9] C. L. Stotz, "Life in the Communities along the Bosphorus," *Journal of Geography*, 31: 191. May, 1932.

But the best evidence of secularization in Turkey appears in the Grand National Assembly's reaction to education. Heretofore the educational process was conducted by the religious orders in the theological seminaries. Before the obsolescence of the department of Religious and Pious Foundation, the constitution of the republic had made primary education "obligatory for all Turks" on a gratuitous basis in the governmental schools.[10] Thus the then existing Islamic parochial schools were nationalized and their control transferred to the Ministry of Education.[11] Reasons for this action must be sought in the main objectives of the government.

That Turkey is a land of illiterates, even the Turks admit. This, for generations, has been a blot on Turkish national character. Some young Turks, educated in France and Germany, had long seen the incompatibility between illiteracy and contemporaneous nationalism. Islamic fanaticism subsists on ignorance; nationalism must nourish its roots with knowledge. Imbued with such logic, the prime minister of New Turkey, a figure as important as Mustafa Kemal, a possible contender for the presidency, and in reality Kemal's "brain trust," speaking at a teachers' conference made his appeal in these words:

You are the workers who will lead this people to the highest level of civilization. Your responsibility is very heavy. You have great obstacles before you. . . . The national educational system which you are following today has no relation to anti-religious tendencies. Ten years hence you shall see the purest type of Islam flourishing in Turkey. We had been entangled in such a complexity of ideas that it was necessary for us to get rid of them. On this path of

[10] Cf. Article 87.

[11] M. Spinka, "Relation of State Schools to Religion in Russia and Turkey," *Religious Education*, 22: 253. March, 1927.

national education we shall never recognize any obstacle. We shall lift up the intellectual life of our nation to the level of civilized peoples. . . . We want a national education. We shall follow this ideal at any cost. In the sphere of science and civilization the Turkish nation must have a place. I expect the fulfillment of social duties also from our teachers. Our social life is lacking in many things, it is dirty, really dirty; you will cleanse it.[12]

So the national cleansing process has to go on in the schools. "The normal schools are busily grinding out youthful Dewey and Thorndike devotees to man the new public schools which are springing up all over the country."[13] Even the religiously stratified men have dared to express themselves in favor of intelligent understanding of the religious tenets of Islam. Taking occasion in connection with the proposed translation of the Koran into Turkish, Iman Azam has said: "The aim of religion is to lift up people. The poor and ignorant cannot be perfect believers. Religion without knowledge or understanding cannot be lofty. Religion ought to be cleansed of all nonsense, of things which cannot be accepted by the intelligence, and the first step for this will be the translation of the Koran into Turkish."[14]

A religionist and a government official may see power in a secularized education for the realization of their respective objectives, but one cultural element is common to both, namely, propaganda. It is at this juncture that we fathom the main purpose in the secularization of education in Turkey. Whoever may be responsible for the inauguration of secularized education in Turkey, its ultimate purpose is nationalistic. The spirit of

new nationalism could not be inculcated through the religious medium which the past culture history of the country had fully demonstrated. Every European state, on the other hand, and especially Russia in recent years, had been using educational facilities as the best means of official propaganda. Youth's enthusiasm could be harnessed through its nationalistic indoctrination. Thus would the future continuity of the republic be assured. Based upon such assumptions, the secularized system of education teaches the young Turks Emil Durkheim's theory that "There are no individuals; there is only society" as a veritable dogma. Again, forums or hearths (ojaks) are organized for the dissemination of ideas and the perpetuation of such dogmas where conferences are held, expositions given, courses in foreign languages offered, Turkish history and the history of revolutions taught.[15] And Ahmed Emin, one of the foremost Turkish journalists with an American background, admits that a "museum of furniture, household utensils, and antique textiles was organized with the idea of creating among the people a national taste."[16] This is extra-mural and informal adult education pregnant with many possibilities.

It is apparent that secularization of education is a means for the realization of the nationalistic ends. Whether Kemal or his advisers saw this historical truism is immaterial; they follow its dictates.

5. *Emancipation of Women.* It is alleged that Selim, the heir to the throne of Abdul Hamid I, as early as 1775 expressed the belief that "unless women were placed on an equality with men and enlightened as to national ideals, the empire could

[12] Quoted from *The International Review of Missions*, 15: 185.

[13] H. Vrooman, "Turkey; a Social Laboratory," American Scholar, 2: 244. March, 1933.

[14] Quoted from *The International Review of Missions*, 15: 181.

[15] L. L. W. Wilson, "Children in the New Turkey," *Survey*, 62: 563. Sept. 1, 1929.

[16] Ahmed, Emin, *Turkey in the World War*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930, p. 173.

not be saved." In spite of this, a student of Islam, writing as late as 1926, states:

I have in my hand a Turkish book giving the old laws of marriage and family life, published by the official sanction of the ministry of education in the period before the war. It contains phrases and sentences about marriage and divorce which one is ashamed to read, and feels defiled after reading.[17]

Then he adds:

There is a tremendous difference between that and the spirit and stipulations of the new generation.

For centuries the Turkish woman was taken merely as an incubator, devoid of political, economic, and social rights. Many Europeans have thought that the day of national salvation arrived for them when women were liberated from such oriental servitude and anxiously awaited to see its consummation among the Orientals. Some women in Turkey have aspired for social emancipation just as earnestly as a freedom-loving bird in a cage, but complaints being followed by personal disaster, they have always bowed before the inevitable. They lived in a patriarchal cultural *milieu* and succumbed to its dictates. But changes in the form of government would be meaningless unless women, at least theoretically, shared some of the general blessings of the republic. Kemal's wife, Latife, would not tolerate domestic imprisonment after having tasted the Parisian mode of behavior with which she was fully familiar. Neither would Halidé Edib, a staunch feminist.

To tinker with a basic social institution such as the family is a hazardous undertaking, but not less urgent than the sultanate or the caliphate in a country where the flood gates of social change are let loose. The members of the national assembly were all men, but they could not ignore the ambitious aspirations

of the opposite sex. Already many had murmured but been silenced. Under the new dispensation, silencing would not be as easy. And again, without the female cooperation, the republic dictated by the male sex might prove sterile. Hence, in 1922 the Angora government deemed it advisable to ask the religious heads to revise the marriage laws. So conservative were the recommendations of this body that they aroused adverse feeling from the Turkish *women*. I do not know the exact stipulations of the proposed laws, as it was impossible to secure them, but judging from the letters addressed to newspaper editors they must have been quite reactionary. In a nut shell, they demand similar rights the female sex has been enjoying in western civilization such as in France, England, and the United States of America. From their expressions it becomes evident that some women in Turkey would not consent to live in a man-made family atmosphere, nor would they tolerate their sex to submit to such male-dictated indignities.

To win women's support was of paramount importance to the newly emerged and struggling republic. Therefore, whether through expediency or sincere conviction, the government accepted the Swedish and the Swiss laws relating to marriage. Presumably, at least in the sight of the law, women have the same privileges in domestic affairs as men. Once more the centuries old theory of sex subservience became discarded and sex equality substituted. In doing this, the new rulers of Turkey were prompted by the desire to gain status in the sight of foreign nations, inasmuch as according to the western dominant culture pattern, the standards of a country seem to be judged by the position its womanhood occupies. This female franchise was an easy victory for the Turkish woman.

[17] *International Review of Missions*, 15: 184.

It came not by fighting, but as a gift from men! Hence, sociologically speaking, how seriously this achievement will be taken by Turkish women in general is problematic.

6. *Installation of Work-Habit*. Seldom can those who have not visited Turkey in the past realize that social parasitism among the Turks is not only the privilege of the sultan and his courtiers, but is shared by the average Turk as well. A very partisan writer, Harold Armstrong, admits that,

economically the Turks were being crushed out. The Christians were the workers and the hoarders; while the Turks were the soldiers and spenders. In England we deal with economic problems of wealth distribution by super-tax and such like legal methods. The Turks endeavored to deal with theirs by murdering the collectors of wealth and so taking by force what had been won from them by work and brains.[18]

Likewise, Owen Tweedy observes:

The old Turk was inefficient. He was inefficient partly because he was lazy, and left it to the non-Moslem minorities in his midst to attend to the essential duties of civil and economic life.[19]

Perusal of the history of the Ottoman Empire for the past three hundred years discloses that, on the average, at an interval of every thirty years there has occurred a massacre. The credulous westerners have attributed this to religious fanaticism, but those who have gone through it realistically realize its economic basis. To live upon others' earnings has been a common Turkish trait. Visitors to Turkey since the revolution, however, give reports which border on the miraculous. Spender, for instance, observes that "Turkish officials work from nine in the

morning till six in the evening—a thing unknown in Constantinople."[20] Professor Eubank, writing concerning social reconstruction in Turkey, states that "one day's rest in seven has been made compulsory."[21] It is amazing to learn that the Turks work so hard for six days that a day of rest is to be imposed on them by legislation! It looks as if the country has been transformed to such an extent that parasites have become workers. This is not a fiction; there is real evidence in support of the fact that the new Turk is a worker, for we are reminded:

That Kemal should have been able to persuade or compel the whole Turkish official class to uproot themselves from Constantinople, where they had lived in considerable comfort, not to say luxury, and to live and work in Angora is an extraordinary achievement of willpower and discipline.[22]

A new capital has been built far in the interior of Anatolia, with paved streets, buses, imposing governmental office buildings, a new hotel with huge ballrooms, parks and lanes leading to the city, etc. This is an expression of deeds and not words. Spender writes: "One has constantly to remember that everything here (Angora) is built on blood and tears, and massacre and pillage."[23] Even if the tears and the blood be those of the non-Turks it still requires Turkish workers to erect these edifices.

For an explanation of this radical transformation in a people's culture patterns, perhaps we have to bank upon an abused generalization, *viz.*, "Necessity is the mother of invention." The nationalist effort to make "Turkey for the Turks" caused the extermination of the working

[18] Harold Armstrong, *Turkey in Travail*, London: John Lane, 1925, p. 221.

[19] Owen Tweedy, "Turkey in Step with Twentieth Century Civilization," *Current History Magazine*, 29: 249. November, 1928.

[20] J. A. Spender, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

[21] E. E. Eubank, "Social Reconstruction in Turkey," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 9: 454.

[22] J. A. Spender, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

hosts under the Ottoman Empire. Since no more Armenians, Greeks, or Kurds are available, the Turk himself becomes subject to conscription. In the past, everything was done for the Turk; in the future the Turks must do things themselves. It is a new era for the Turk; he discards idleness and harnesses himself to the task of building a new nation. No other alternative exists except gradual disintegration à la Oswald Spengler.[24]

7. *Westernization*. Since the middle of the nineteenth century the Europeanization of the world is as strong a wish as the christianization of the heathen has been for the earlier centuries. The world is European in its spirit, outlook, and accomplishments. Japan, China, Russia, India, Persia, and Egypt aspire to westernization. To the young Turk westernization is an obsession; it is a complex with a compulsion. Rustem Bey expresses this view in behalf of his country and its present leader in saying:

He (Mustafa Kemal) is acting on the principle, the truth of which no one can contest, that being hard pressed by the rapidly moving and the mercilessly operating events of the period, his country cannot proceed by leisurely stages on the road to reform; that whatever Turkey has to do to come into line with the progressive West, whose civilization she *must adopt or perish*, must be achieved by rapid, bold and long strides.[25]

Here it is evident that the only hope of survival for new Turkey consists in her western acculturation. Another observer, however, maintains that "radical westernization and laicism are Kemal's tools just as secrecy and intrigue were those of Abdul Hamid. The real issue is personal power, as it was in the days of sultans."[26] Whether for personal glory

or national pride, the necessity for westernization appears as a dominant aspired culture pattern. One does not need to psychoanalyze Kemal Pasha or his associates in order to unearth the reasons for westernization. For too long a time was the Turk segregated from the European family because of his archaic Eastern customs. The gap between the Oriental Turk and the Latin West could never be bridged as long as such superficial cultural differences perpetuated themselves. It is easier to think of the Turk as a normal member of the family of European nations if he wears a hat, a pair of trousers, uses the Latin alphabet, respects the integrity of women, and parades with a constitution, than all the exotic characteristics he has symbolized heretofore. Consequently, European customs are not necessarily accepted because of a desire to adopt those of a superior civilization; their adoption is deemed expedient. Thus Turkey can make her entree into the family of nations and thereby guard her sovereignty by using the same fictions that the rest of the Europeans are in the habit of using. Wearing of masks is not only a trait common to individual persons, but is shared by the collective units from time immemorial. It is an inseparable aspect of culture.

8. *Pro-Russianism*. In view of the data presented above, the casual observer would be tempted to imply that these radical social changes in Turkey were inspired by Russia. Perhaps it is up to the prophetic historian to say whether this succession of events could have taken place without the Russian Revolution of 1915. The territorial contiguity of these two countries, the similarity in their predicament during and after the war, the prevalent cultural inertia because of absolute monarchy coupled with ecclesiastical deterioration in both countries,

[24] *Cf.* The Decline of the West.

[25] A. Rustem Bey, "Turkey Taking Her Place among Modern Nations," *Current History*, 25: 670. February, 1927. (Italics are mine.)

[26] *Foreign Affairs*, 3: 602. July, 1926.

might have rendered Turkey as an emulator and *Russia as a sympathizer*. It is true that like Russia, modern Turkey has attempted to sever her people from the past and focused attention upon the future as an escape mechanism. Yet, if the alleged will of the present dictator of Turkey is indicative of a dominant attitude, in one respect Turkey is decidedly anti-Russian, *viz.*, communism. Mustafa Kemal warns his people "to repress the dissemination of communistic ideology among the Turks.[27] The constitution of the republic also is emphatic on this point. Article One says: "The Turkish state is a Republic." Then, fearing future possibilities, article 102, referring to amendments to the constitution, specifies: "No proposal to alter or amend article one of this constitution, specifying that the form of government is a Republic, shall be entertained." This is not directed against monarchy alone; it is an anti-soviet stand. Turkey has accepted many of the Russian innovations except the abolition of private property and the soviet system.

In spite of this anti-Russian attitude, Turkey is paradoxically pro-Russian. The leaders of new Turkey have faced this issue as realistically as they have faced the rest of the problems. Turkish pro-Russianism is a self-protective measure. From the time of Peter the Great, Russia has sought an ice-free port. Constantinople offers the best outlet. Ultimately, Russia is liable to descend upon this area and acquire it. A hostile attitude against Russia might enhance the act; a friendly relationship, on the other hand, may be the best safeguard. Furthermore, Russia, against the wishes of the European nations, is gaining day by day in strength. It pays to have such a strong ally in time of emergency. And, finally, the Turks realize that without Russian assistance the nationalists could not have achieved their goal.[28] It is a poor policy to bite the hand that has fed them. Today politico-economic treaties between these neighboring countries bind them until one or both consider such ties "scraps of paper" under an emergency crisis.

PROBLEMS AHEAD

Mustafa Kemal and his associates, in their endeavor to create a new Turkey out of the remnants of the old Ottoman Empire, have scrutinized the social situation seriously and faced the major issues expediently. They aroused national consciousness by purging Turkey racially, abolished the sultanate and the caliphate, imposed an iron dictatorship, secularized education, offered emancipation to women, coerced work habits upon the officials, westernized the external appearance of the Turk, and established amicable relationships with the greatest threat to their national existence, namely, Russia. I have given reasons for the emergence of these problems and the ways they were met by the nationalist leaders. There are, however, some issues which remain unattacked, and still others which are bound to arise as consequences of the radical cultural changes which have already taken place in Turkey. These may be summarized as follows:

1. Almost all the writers upon the fact of social change in Turkey suffer from the journalistic disease of personalizing everything. Every occurrence is attributed to one person—Mustafa Kemal Pasha Ataturk. No revolution, large or small, is the work of one single man. Lenin is a symbol of the Russian revolu-

[27] Item two in Kemal's alleged will.

[28] E. G. Mears, *Modern Turkey*, New York: Macmillan, 1924, p. 563.

tion, Mussolini of the Italian fascism, Hitler of the German Nazi movement, but none of these men works alone. Most of the changes under Kemal's regime are the logical outcome of the prewar generations. The cultural soil was broken by the sacrifices of numberless men for the establishment of a constitutional form of government. Therefore, the changes inaugurated are not the work of *a* man, no matter how much—under a system of organized propaganda—he is singled out, but they are the product of the labor and the thought of *many men*. Hence, the future of the republic must be sought not in finding *one man*, but in preparing people to assume the gigantic task of national rebuilding.

2. Social changes in Turkey are inaugurated through edicts, laws, and coercive measures. Once the rules of conduct were prescribed by the monarch's edicts; today they are issued through a "party" controlled by a few men. These present controllers have neither the background of the Russian revolutionists nor their unmatchable enthusiasm and disciplined loyalty. The rank and file accept the changes not because of understanding and conviction but because of coercion. If there had been a larger number of educated and "tried" Turks with a background of "suffering," the results might have been more salutary. Neither the rulers nor the ruled exhibit these qualities for abiding results. This exhibits culture accumulation but seems to be devoid of inner growth. Hence the problem of culture assimilation still remains unattacked.

3. Dictatorships may be fashionable, inevitable, and even desirable; yet the whimsical errors of dictators sanctioned in the name of the "nation" are liable to result in untold suffering. Turkish dictatorship is not open to self-criticism; consequently, a personal fanaticism and that of a small clique has already developed. It carries with it the germs of abuse of power reaching its climax in a "reign of terror." After a ten-hour speech by Kemal Pasha in March 1925, the Law of Maintenance of Order re-established the revolutionary tribunals "with absolute power to arrest and execute anyone suspected of endangering public order."[29] The extent of this power is limitless. Under a dictatorship the value of individual life is nil; only the dictator's life is sacred, inviolable, and only his will unopposed. Such a social atmosphere mortifies personality. The freedom of the press and assembly, guaranteed by the Turkish constitution, is an abstraction; in reality it does not exist and under the present dictatorship cannot exist. Free social interaction cannot take place in such a culture milieu.

4. In the name of secularization, for the furtherance of nationalistic aims, a hard blow was given to the religious beliefs of a religiously sensitive people. The anti-Islam sentiments of the present day rulers are as intolerant and inconsiderate of religious interests of the rank and file Turk as the religious authorities have been toward anti-religionists in the past. The problem of religious freedom is not solved as yet. Scientific balance in this realm is the fruit of stabilization wherein political security reigns. Up to the present, Turkey has been passing through a transitional stage, hence insecurity has spelled anti-religious dogmatism.

5. The World War helped the Turkish women to get their freedom more easily than did their sisters in the West. Some working side by side won recognition for all. There is no excuse for the subjugation of one sex by another, but easily won freedom is the best stepping-stone for

[29] Halidé Edib, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

license. The leaders seem to ignore the elementary lesson of institutionalization: that they cannot instill morality by removing repressions. A real problem of *sex-consciousness as a class movement* is in store for recognition in the near future.

6. Angora's mania for westernization as a means to keep the European imperialists out of Turkish borders appears mere wishful thinking. Europeans go where they *must*, be these areas and peoples westernized or in the aboriginal state. As Stanwood Gobb intimates:

Those who are the rulers of Turkey today are thoroughly in sympathy with western ideas and methods. They want to introduce improvements as rapidly as possible, but the ignorance and fanaticism of the masses and the obstacles put in their way by selfish European diplomacy act as obstacles.[30]

Although the imitation of the West by new Turkey has won many diplomatic battles for the latter in recent years, the more westernized it is, the greater will be the peaceful penetration of Europe in Turkey. Turkey is not a Japan.

7. With a constitution taken over from Switzerland, Turkey appears like an adolescent farm girl in a Parisian dress. Some years ago the Egyptian nationalist and patriot Zaghlul Pasha exhorted a select group in Cairo that American visitors should carry as a souvenir not the Arabian beads, scarabs, and perfumes, but the "soul" of Egypt, yearning for centuries for its lost glory. The Turkish soul remains unchanged irrespective of a constitution. I do not mean to imply that it is unchangeable. Perhaps Turkey in European dress will be-

come a Parisian coquette; today she is not. Changes do not come by wishing. The problem is a formidable one for Turkey. As one critic has put it: "for all its modern political resiliency, the soul of Islam is still encased in its medieval husk."[31] And another referring to the Turk adds:

. . . He is singularly lacking in creative ability. Broadly speaking he has created nothing in all the seven centuries of his distinct history. Races subject to him have worked in his name and created some splendid things—the mosques of Stamboul, for instance. He has borrowed copiously from the Persian, the Arab, the Byzantine, the Armenian, the Syrian, and the European. But neither art nor science nor philosophy owe him any appreciable debt.[32]

The question to be faced now and in the future is: What are the chances of such a people in the creation and in the rebuilding of a new nation?

In the above recital of problems yet to be faced I have not included specific items such as the future of gambling, drinking, prostitution, poverty, crime, illiteracy, finances, etc. These are issues to be encountered by any sovereign state; furthermore, no information is available about them.

The task of nation-making is a laborious one. Time and energy constitute its ground-work. It is a problem in acculturation which cannot be handled by politicians on the basis of political expediency alone. It is a matter of scrutiny by the social scientific disciplines at large. It demands laboratory technique instead of the haphazard rule of thumb method.

[30] Stanwood Cobb, *The Real Turk*, Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1924, p. 294.

[31] Charles Merz, "New Turkey Challenges Islam," *Our World*, 4: 76. January, 1924.

[32] Turkish Facts and Fancies," *Foreign Affairs*, 3: 598.

CULTURE PATTERNING IN SECRET SOCIETY CEREMONIALS*

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ORGANIZED secrecy has been a feature of many civilizations. In primitive cultures secret organizations frequently attain a position which makes them of major importance in the social life of the people. Among the early Mediterranean civilizations the Ancient Mysteries played an important part in cultural development. During the Middle Ages, when knighthood and feudalism flourished on European soil, secret societies functioned as an important part of the social order, frequently as military or revolutionary brotherhoods. Later, as the Industrial Revolution dawned, new types of esoteric groups sprang up to meet the social and economic needs of a people whose mode of life had been affected by the change from agrarianism to industrialism. The Friendly Societies of England and various craft guilds of Britain and other lands are examples of secret fraternities constructed to harmonize with the socio-economic conditions of the time.

Secret fraternalism in its totality represents one of the major patterns of American civilization, a vast complex of material and non-material traits which have been woven into a distinctive cultural scheme. In 1800 there were but a few thousand members of the secret brotherhoods, but during the following century over six hundred societies sprang up or were introduced from abroad. Although adequate data are not at hand to show the exact

number of fraternities or fraternalists, it was estimated in 1927 that there were approximately 800 different orders having a combined membership of 30 million persons. Fraternalism and the notions pertaining to it have penetrated almost every segment of society, influencing alike old and young, male and female, rich and poor.

In this paper the proposition is presented that these societies are characterized by major culture patterns or configurations which bear conspicuous resemblances both in their structural and functional aspects. The problem, then, resolves itself mainly into the task of describing these patterns and indicating the extent to which they are typical of the secret society complex. It is recognized, of course, that while a common cultural thread appears to run through the whole of fraternalism, specific societies have effected innumerable variations of the pattern which serve to give each group a certain individuality within the larger fraternal complex. The study is thus necessarily concerned not only with the uniformities but also with deviations from the basic configurations. The present discussion will be limited to a consideration of secret society ceremonies.

THE CONCEPT OF CULTURE PATTERN

It is well at this point to consider briefly the theoretical aspects of the culture pattern concept as it is here used. The term may be defined as the design or gestalt which any combination of culture traits (culture complex) may assume in a given culture. In the patterning process the various cultural elements

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* This study of ceremonialism is part of a more inclusive study of secret societies. Data for this paper are based on the rituals of seventy representative fraternities.

tend to arrange themselves in certain combinations according to the actual functions the traits perform. The culture pattern may therefore be said to be a sort of cultural frame to which disparate elements may be added and molded to harmonize with the prevailing design. The patterns of a whole culture constitute in their totality what might be called the configuration of that culture, which distinguishes it from other civilizations. This distinction becomes all the more apparent when it is realized that many cultures are oriented in terms of some dominant *motif*. Thus the total configuration, focussed as it is likely to be toward some definite concept or objective, is no less real than the dominant style characterizing the art or music of a people.

In any culture the patterning of a given complex appears to be fairly uniform from group to group and from locality to locality. If the culture is homogeneous, as in the case of a primitive group, relatively few aberrations from the established norm are sanctioned. In western culture, with its extreme differentiation and its multiplicity of values, deviations from the recognized patterns are likely to be characteristic of cultural development. Each group is not only separate from others in space; it also has its own distinctive history as well as its own functions and needs. Consequently it is reasonable to expect that within a culture complex would appear numerous variations in patterning. A study of any major complex of our own culture would undoubtedly reveal certain basic patterns and also multifarious variations of a minor character. In different groups new elements are introduced and woven into the existing pattern, while others are modified or dropped altogether; so that in the final analysis each local manifestation of the pattern tends to become some-

what different from the others, although still preserving the basic design. Organized Christianity is a case in point. The numerous sects and denominations in this country represent an infinite number of aberrational patterns. Yet these divergent groupings preserve with considerable fidelity the basic concepts and ideas of the Christian religion. This same tendency may be noted in the secret society complex of contemporary American culture.

In their psychological aspects culture patterns may be said to exert a compulsive force in human behavior and personality. In a sense these culture patterns represent the objective side of personality; they are, as Benedict points out, the individual "thrown large upon the screen, given gigantic proportions and a long-term span."[1] Just as the total configurations of a culture may take a distinctive shape and become so oriented as to provide a definite channel for the individual tendencies of the members of that particular society, so may any of the patterns which make up the culture assume a consistent form and serve to channelize the thought and conduct of individuals.

THE NATURE OF ESOTERIC CEREMONIALS

It is proposed here to describe patterns of secret society ceremonials and to indicate the extent to which the patterning process as manifest by cultural uniformities is exhibited. These ritualistic activities represent a sort of sub-complex, with the various traits, that is, symbolic acts and objects, dovetailed together into a pattern which, in its broad outlines, appears to be more or less common to fraternal societies. Ritual in general tends to be dramatic in character; in

[1] Ruth Benedict, "Configurations of Culture in North America," *American Anthropologist*, XXXIV (1929), p. 24.

secret orders the dramatic features are conspicuously apparent. Ordinarily these ceremonialized dramas or pageants are founded on some fable, allegory, myth, legend, or historical event. Most of the fraternal ceremonials have dramas that contain simple narrative plots in which the members and neophytes play appropriate dramatic rôles. These dramas are invariably moralistic in tone, being designed to convey the dogmas and doctrines which characterize the ideological framework of the orders. In most instances the "moral lesson" of the ceremonials is so obvious as to leave little for the imagination of even the most unimaginative novitiate or member.

SOURCE OF CEREMONIAL THEMES

So far as the themes of ceremonial dramas are concerned, the Bible seems to be the most common source of ideas. Biblical legends have been dramatized to suit the purposes of the fraternity employing them and have been woven into the rituals in a fashion deemed appropriate for the occasion. The Masonic lodge, for example, centers much of its ritualistic drama on Biblical lore relating to King Solomon and his temple. Two famous legendary friendships, that of Jonathan and David and the one between Damon and Pythias, are used as thematic materials for several fraternities. The story of the Good Samaritan has also been found appropriate for ceremonial dramatization. But variations in these themes appear. The Improved Order of Red Men, for instance, has a dramatic ritual which is intended to be representative of Indian life and customs. The Forestry organizations, of which there are several, have built a ceremonial drama on the legendary experiences of Robin Hood. In the Ku Klux Klan the dramatic ceremony has for its theme the naturalization of aliens.

For the Knights of the Golden Eagle the theme is drawn from the traditions and history of the Crusaders; for the Homesteaders it centers around frontier life. In some instances the dramas take the form of allegories in which members impersonate certain "vices," "evils," and "truths." The recently-formed Utopian Society of California has a drama representing the struggle of the down-trodden masses and their final discovery of a society in which "reason is ascendant." The drama is presented in five "cycles," and concludes in a truly American manner with the unemployed finding prosperity and security in a Utopian world and living happily ever after.

THE RÔLE OF THE NOVICE

One of the most characteristic aspects of the ceremonial patterns is the dramatic rôle of the novitiate. In the process of leading the novice from the "profane" world into the realm of mystery the individual is usually given a special symbolic rôle to perform. Ordinarily this rôle is such as to impress upon the candidate certain doctrines or principles which the society seeks to impart and to heighten the person's awareness of his own status of subordination as a newcomer from the outside. These candidatorial rôles bear striking resemblances to each other, with each society, of course, varying the details of the part to conform harmoniously with the *motif* of the ceremony.

The common procedure is for the novitiate to play the rôle of a stranger. He may be a "weary traveller in the wilderness," a "pilgrim in search of light," an "alien far from his own shores," an "intruder," or a "spy." In the Ancient Arabic Order of Nobles of the Mystic Shrine, for instance, the candidates are greeted as "poor sons of the desert, who are weary of the hot sands and the burning sun of the

plains and humbly crave shelter and the protecting dome of the Temple." The Modern Samaritans present the novice as a weary stranger going down the road from Jerusalem to Jericho. In the Ku Klux Klan the members refer to the neophyte as an "alien" who is seeking citizenship in the Invisible Empire, in the Utopian Society he is a "pilgrim," in the Knights of Pythias he is a "stranger who desires to be inducted into the mysteries of the rank of Page," while in the Modern Woodmen of America he is a "stranger, without friends, in a strange land." Certain variations from this common pattern may be noted. The ritual of the Grange (Patrons of Husbandry) refers in the first degree to the candidates as "laborers" and "maids" (both sexes are admitted to the organization); in the second degree they represent "cultivators" and "shepherdesses"; in the third degree, "harvesters" and "gleaners"; and in the fourth, "husbandmen" and "matrons."

THE SYMBOLIC JOURNEY

As a correlative feature of the candidatorial rôle of stranger or travellers is the journey of the novice. Always these "journeys" are symbolic in character; they may symbolize a sojourn "through the wilderness," "over hot sands," "across swollen streams," "over rough and uneven roads," or in the "land of the enemy"; they may perhaps be symbolical of mere wandering in search of "light," "truth," or "protection." As the ritual-drama unfolds, with the novice playing the leading rôle, the members, in their respective parts, explain for his benefit the symbolic content of the "journey" and endeavor to link it up with some moral precept or principle to which they as representatives of the order subscribe. Sometimes obstacles are placed in front of the blindfolded candidate to

make his journey more realistic. Often he is manhandled by members posing as "robbers" or "ruffians," or is challenged by someone who wants to know his mission and perhaps his password.

As noted in the following concrete examples, the ceremonial journey tends to conform fairly closely to a common pattern. In the Improved Order of Red Men, for example, the candidate is divested of clothing, blindfolded, given a bow of arrows, and started on a "difficult journey" over a "rough and treacherous path." During the course of the journey (which consists of perambulations around the lodge room) the conductor interprets for the novice the meaning of this phase of the drama. The Royal Purple Degree of Odd Fellowship has a similar dramatization. Here the candidate is referred to as a pilgrim making a journey through the wilderness. As he is conducted around the room he is stopped at different stations to receive "lectures" by different officials on the dangers and pitfalls of his sojourn. During the course of the "journey" the candidate and his conductor hear the clash of arms as if a battle is under way; they pass the ruins of a castle, face an approaching storm, and finally come to a deep and muddy river which they must cross. The initiated members try to make this symbolic journey as realistic as possible.

In the Modern Woodmen of America the candidate and his escort take the rôle of impoverished beggars wandering in the "forests" and "city streets." The neophyte in the Independent Order of Foresters is escorted into the lodge room where he is addressed by one of the officials as a "Forester journeying through the forest of life." In the ritual of the Ku Klux Klan the candidates are admitted to "our Klavern to journey through the mystic cave in quest of citizenship in

the Invisible Empire," whereupon the Exalted Cyclops instructs one of the officials to "afford them a safe journey from the world of selfishness and fraternal alienation to the sacred altar of the empire of chivalry, industry, honor, and love." The novitiate in the Order of the Rainbow, a Masonic affiliate for young girls, is conducted on a "journey" to the "end of the rainbow." At each of the series of stations the novice is halted to receive an interpretation of the color-symbols of the order.

THE CEREMONIAL ORDEAL

Ritualistic ordeals as a feature of initiatory rites in secret societies are a common practice among peoples of varying cultures. In primitive esoteric societies the ordeal is frequently found in rigorous and even brutal ceremonies ostensibly designed to test the courage and endurance of novices who are to be inducted into the mystic realms. These ordeals undoubtedly serve a double function: first, to satisfy the members of the constancy and suitability of the initiates, and, second, through the severity and sometimes horror of initiatory experiences, to impress the neophyte with the seriousness of the steps he is taking in entering the society. Primitive ordeals are sometimes "so severe as to ruin the health, and even to cause the death of the weaker novices—an outcome which is always defended by the old men on well-known Darwinian principles."[2] Flogging, knocking out of teeth, scarification, nose, lip and ear-boring, tattooing, sprinkling with human blood—these are some of the forms of ordeals which are employed to inculcate the "tribal virtues of bravery, obedience, and self-control."[3] The rather fragmentary literature of the

Ancient Mysteries indicates that the ordeal was also a feature of the ceremonialism of those organizations.

Practices of these societies are mentioned because of the extent to which they parallel the ceremonials of contemporary fraternities. But in modern society there appears to be a tendency toward the refinement and symbolization of the primordial rites. These ceremonial ordeals function partly as a device for testing the candidate's suitability for full membership in the order, although this is probably not so significant, and partly as an instrument for indoctrinating the novice with the accepted dogmas of esoteric fraternalism. They seem to be characteristic chiefly of men's organizations rather than societies for women.

The ordeal is commonly a part of the symbolic drama, with the novice, as previously noted, playing the rôle of an untested and unconfirmed outsider. The candidate is accordingly given what is called a test of loyalty or fortitude, or is subjected to some humiliating or disconcerting experience. Sometimes the ordeal assumes the character of a threat. But instead of the novitiate being forced to undergo some terrifying physical experience he usually becomes the center of a dramatic episode having something of the character of an ordeal. These symbolic ordeals are commonly built around what might be called "spy" or "intruder" situations. Lighting and noise effects are also included to give a touch of reality to dramatic events that might otherwise border too closely on the fringe of puerility. During the course of the dramatic ritual the candidate is confronted with some situation that gives the appearance of a fidelity test.

In the Improved Order of Red Men, for example, the novice, taking the rôle of a "pale face," is seized as a spy and

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[2] Hutton Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies*, p. 34.
[3] *Ibid.*

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trespasser. After due consideration and much make-believe haggling he is ordered burned at the stake to test his courage. The faggots are lighted, the "braves" circle about him performing a scalp dance, and there is much excitement. At the proper moment the "prophet" rushes into the group, scatters the faggots, releases the thongs that bind the candidate, and proceeds to denounce the persecutors for trying to execute a man merely on suspicion. Much the same procedure is followed in the Independent Order of Foresters. The ordeal in this organization takes the form of a "test of fidelity" administered by the members. Before the candidate is permitted to enter the "realm of the purple cross" he is given a key which he is told to keep regardless of what may happen to him. On his "journey" he is "attacked" by "robbers," who declare that they are going to take the key from him whether he be "dead or alive." At this point of the ritual-drama one of the officers gives the fraternal sigh of distress, the members rush up and disperse the "robbers," and the candidate and his escort are permitted to continue their journey. At the conclusion of the sojourn he is congratulated by the presiding officer on his loyalty and faithfulness in refusing to yield to the threats of his attackers.

The "temptation situations" sometimes take the form of an allegory, with the member-actors impersonating certain ideas or fictitious characters such as Poverty, Indolence, and the Devil. The Knights of the Holy Cross, an auxiliary of the Methodist church, has a ritual in which the novice is "tempted" by the Flesh, the World, and the Devil. On the symbolic journey the candidate is accosted by these three characters, who invite him to come along with them so that they may all "eat, drink, and be merry." If

he refuses, as he is supposed to do, they seize him and attempt to drag him along, but a member intervenes to save him from their clutches. Frequently the orders institute "tests of fortitude." In the Shrine the candidate is subjected to what is known in Shriner parlance as the "Moslem test of courage." Blindfolded, and with hands tied behind him, the candidate is started on the "journey over hot sands" with the warning that "those who die in the faith will be resurrected in glory." As he goes around the room he is punched and beaten with sabers, and during the course of the ceremonies he is subjected to humiliating and embarrassing experiences that border on the burlesque. In the ritual of one of the Masonic degrees the narrator relates the Biblical story found in Chronicles. When he comes to the description of the slaying of two young men by the Chaldees the members in the room imitate the noise of battle by stamping, yelling, groaning, clashing swords, overturning benches and chairs, and creating a bedlam in general. Then the candidates are "attacked," bound hand and foot, and carried into the preparation room as "captives taken at the siege of Jerusalem."

Perhaps more primitive in their character are the burlesque ordeals which usually precede the serious initiatory rites. While these initiatory caricatures most assuredly test the individual's powers of mental and physical endurance as well as his disposition, they are probably employed less as proof of the individual's suitability as fraternal timber than as an expression of certain sadistic tendencies of the fraternalists themselves. This feature of fraternal ritualism, it may be noted, has lost some of the vogue it apparently held among men's societies in earlier days, although collegians frequently employ it as a prelude to formal

initiation. In many fraternities the burlesque is limited to pre-initiation bantering indulged in for its psychological effects on the initiate and the satisfaction it appears to afford the regular members.

THE CEREMONIAL OBLIGATION

It is common knowledge that secret societies make use of the ceremonial oath to further the cohesiveness of the group by guaranteeing the loyalty and support of the members. In its modern form the obligation is something more than a mere verbal promise to protect the secrets and observe the principles of the order. It involves action—prescribed bodily posture, gestures, and formal ritualized expressions. Frequently it is accompanied by prayer, by chanting, or by special lighting effects to add impressiveness to the situation. In most instances the candidate is conducted to the altar in the center of the room to receive the obligation. Frequently he is required to perform some symbolic act as kissing an open Bible or kneeling before a coffin. These acts themselves reflect the religious, or at least quasi-religious, character of esoteric fraternalism, and are illustrative of the way in which the culture patterns of strictly religious organizations tend to be dovetailed into the patterns of secret societies.

It is observed that the obligation serves not only to guarantee the preservation of the ritualistic secrets of the fraternal order but also to define the individual's conduct according to the moral principles emphasized by the group. The entering novice promises in proper ceremonial fashion to render assistance to fellow-members who may be in distress, to observe the principles of honesty in his financial dealings with other members, to propose for membership only persons whose impeccable character is unques-

tioned, to obey the orders of his superior officers, to obey all signs and summons, and, if a man, never to violate the chastity of a wife, sister, or daughter of a member of the society. The definitions of conduct, however, are restricted to relations between members within the order rather than to relations between members and non-members. While it is undoubtedly true that fraternal orders do not sanction or encourage unprincipled conduct outside the fraternal circle, such definitions of behavior ordinarily go unmentioned in the obligations. Illicit sexual conduct, for example, is narrowed down to relations of a member with the female relatives or dependents of another member; beyond this there are no explicitly stated taboos. It is a good example of in-group morality.

A portion of the ritualistic obligation of the Order of the Star of Bethlehem may be cited in this connection:

> I . . . do solemnly promise that I will never reveal the secrets that are about to be committed to my keeping. . . . I will not indite, paint, print, stain, engrave, hew, mark, or cause to be done, any syllable, word, or sentence, upon anything under the heavens, which will tend to expose the secret work of this order or any part of it.

The resemblances of this obligation to that of one of the Masonic degrees is most pronounced:

> I . . . of my own free will and accord, in the presence of Almighty God . . . most solemnly and sincerely promise and swear that I will always hail, ever conceal, and never reveal any of the secret arts, parts, or points of the hidden mysteries of Freemasonry which may have been heretofore, shall be at this time or any future period, communicated to me as such, to any person or persons whomsoever. . . . I furthermore promise and swear that I will not write, print, paint, stamp, stain, cut, carve, mark, or engrave them, nor cause the same to be done on anything movable or immovable, capable of receiving the least impression of a word, syllable, letter, or character, whereby the same may become legible or intelligible to any person or persons under the canopy of heaven. . .

Certain fraternal organizations have proceeded to put "teeth" in the obligation by incorporating within it what may be called the "self-threat." In the ceremonial self-threat the candidate, at the conclusion of the formal oath, wishes upon himself some terrible calamity or excruciating experience should he ever betray the secrets entrusted to him. In the Benevolent Order of American Scouts, a supervised juvenile organization of a patriotic nature, the candidate is given an obligation which concludes with the following self-threat:

> And should I fall so low as to violate this part of my solemn and binding obligation may I be denied the fellowship of men and driven to the haunts of the oathsome reptile, or perish in the sand of the desert and forever spurned and despised by all worthy Scouts and citizens, driven from cover to cover as the renegade who betrays his kind.

Similarly, the candidate in the Knights of the Holy Cross swears to keep the secrets of the order, asking that his hair be torn from his scalp, his scalp torn from his body, and his body burned to ashes and "scattered to the four winds of heaven" should he ever betray his obligation. In the United Order of Friendship, a Negro society, the novice asks that "lightning from the west" tear him limb from limb and the "four winds" scatter his remains so that his grave may never be found. The novitiate in one of the Masonic degrees obligates himself "under no less a penalty than that of having my throat cut across, my tongue torn out by its roots and buried in the rough sands of the sea at low-water mark where the tide ebbs and flows once in twenty-four hours" should he ever violate his solemn oath. For the novice who is more credulous than critical such a self-threat, while more or less meaningless, may produce a definite emotional reaction. There is some reason to believe that this device is

an effective means of regulating the behavior of members who take fraternalism seriously. Not all societies feature the self-threat, but a sufficient number have this phase of the oath to make it an important aspect of fraternal ritualism.

CEREMONIAL DEATH AND RESURRECTION

Another striking pattern of the ritualistic drama is the ceremonial death and resurrection. In primitive secret societies the initiatory rites almost universally include a mimic death and resurrection of the novice. The ancient Mithraic cult, according to Pythian-Adams, included a symbolic murder of the neophyte and his resurrection as a spiritualized being.[4] Frazer relates that in the rituals of Adonis, Attis, and Osiris the ceremonial death and rebirth of these mythological personalities was staged in the form of a dramatization of the myths current at the time.[5] In contemporary fraternalism the death and resurrection *motif* is less common than other features of esoteric ceremonialism. One notable version of the theme is to be found in the famous Hiramic Legend of Freemasonry. The dramatized legend deals with the conspiracy against the skilled workman of Solomon's Temple, his violent death and burial, the attempted escape of the conspirators and their capture, the finding of the grave, and the resurrection. The candidate, assigned the rôle of the murdered Hiram in this part of the drama, is resurrected from a make-believe grave in the lodge room. Ceremonial deaths and ressurections in certain other lodges are so strikingly similar to the one featured in the Masonic ritual as to suggest actual copying. Variations in death scenes are noted in different rituals. In one patriotic organization, for instance,

[4] W. J. Phythian-Adams, *Mithraism*, p. 83.

[5] James G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, pp. 125–35; 163–72; 211–18.

the novice is placed in a coffin draped with an American flag and carried in a procession around the room to the "grave," where a funeral eulogy is delivered. Skeletons and other objects symbolizing death are employed in the ceremonies and allusions are frequently made to the imminence of death. The purpose of the death theme in the ceremonials is ostensibly to impress the candidate not only with the seriousness of the ritual itself but also with the reality of death and immortality. This aspect of ritualism seems to be especially appropriate for organizations having insurance provisions or sick and death benefits.

It has been mentioned that the ceremonials function chiefly as devices for the dissemination and inculcation of cherished fraternal ideologies. Lest the ritualistic dramas themselves be inadequate as instruments of indoctrination the rituals are supplemented by what is known in fraternal parlance as lectures. These formalized sermons, delivered usually for the benefit of the newcomer, are both explanatory and hortatory in character—explanatory in that they are presumed to explain for the candidate the moral lesson of the ritual-drama, and hortatory in that they exhort him as to the way he as a member shall be expected to act. It is in these lectures also that the general political, economic, patriotic, religious, and racial creeds of the various organizations are expounded.

CONCLUSION

This method of analysis indicates a similar patterning process in other fraternal ceremonials. The burial rituals, the installation and founding services, the opening and closing ceremonies, the ceremonial balloting, all these tend to conform more or less closely to a common pattern or design. By the same token, the same approach may be utilized in an analysis of other aspects of secret fraternalism. In the character of organizational structure, in the methods of selection and control of members, in the ideological framework, in the general character of origin myths, and in the content and character of fraternal symbols the fraternities have tended to develop according to a rather uniform basic design. The presence of these cultural similarities would suggest that diffusion has been an important factor in producing this phenomenon, and historical data would tend to bear out such an assumption. The significant point of the whole matter for this discussion is, however, the fact that these cultural patterns do exist, that they may be described with some degree of accuracy, and that in their totality they constitute an institutional framework which functions as a social matrix to determine certain outlines of human thought and conduct.

A SUMMER INSTITUTE ON REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND
THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

A special two-weeks institute beginning June 17, 1936 will be held at the University of North Carolina with a view to exploring the field of regional development in relation to social science instruction and extension work. It is proposed to have representatives from all of the Southeastern states take part in this institute as well as two or three specialists from other regions. From the Middle states will be Professor Ogburn, and from the Southwest W. E. Gettys from the University of Texas. Further announcements may be had by writing to Professor Edgar Knight, Director of the Summer Session, or Howard W. Odum, Chapel Hill.

PATTERNS OF INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF RECENT TRENDS IN TECHNOLOGY

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New York City

THE last decade has seen a marked change in the industrial equilibrium of the world. New powers have appeared on the industrial arena. Old powers have suffered marked changes in status. The six years of world depression have had their effect upon the advance of science and industry. From various places come statements that these fields are stagnant or doomed to stagnation. Yet these fields continue to advance with great strides.

Advances in technics both in its mechanical and organizational aspects continue at perhaps a less rapid rate, but nevertheless with important consequences. The refinements wrought in industry by the use of electricity, new materials, power, automaticity, mechanization, efficient management, have been further developed in those fields in which they had a grasp and have reached out into new fields.

The capital goods industries aided somewhat by government spending programs, war preparations, and by the general demand for replacement that many years of curtailed buying engenders, though they are still far from healthy, have had a very active year. In the consumers goods industries (as well as in the capital goods industries) there has been an actual revolution in design. The industrial art movement has become deeper rooted. The industrial product, whether it be a dishpan, refrigerator, automobile, machine tool, or locomotive has taken on a simpler, smoother, more pleasing and technically more perfect form.

The planning movement, the movement of the organizational aspect of technics, has made great progress in the intra-industrial, national-economic, and socio-economic spheres. Methods of industrial organization, of plant layout and co-ordination, of industrial control and analysis have been further developed.

On the world scene, new powers have become industrialized and other powers are struggling to achieve an industrial status. Russia has made great strides in technics and is rapidly on the road to becoming a leading industrial power. Japan continues to advance its industry. Italy grasps for colonies to supply it a raw material base for industrialization. Germany, the advanced industrial nation, without a general adequate resource background also enters the fray for colonies, and at the same time pushes to the fore its "ersatz" program. All nations fearing an impending war, and preparing for it, gear up their military programs, and urge the development and progressive alertness of their industries which are so necessary both in war and in peace.

What road have technical developments taken? What patterns have they followed? How have the recently industrialized nations reached their present status? What are the present prospects for further advance in technics? These are questions which we will discuss here.

PATTERNS OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

The industrialization and development of any country in a moderately advanced civilization is dependent to a great extent

upon the development of the technics and industry in the most advanced part of the world. The United States starting its industrialization period after that of England, profited greatly by the progress which England made in industry. Japan and the colonial countries industrializing at a later date started at the status of the then prevalent industry. And today Russia in the midst of its great program of industrialization is calling upon the established world technique to enable her to cultivate her resource structure.

At each stage the pattern followed by the country being industrialized is different. Certain limitations in resource patterns, in the position on the world arena, in established customs, in aptitude of the population to change, are encountered. Some countries import advanced technical methods and adapt them to their peculiar problems, other countries have them imposed upon them, and some few adopt and *assimilate* the funded technical culture of the age. Yet there are certain difficulties in adopting an advanced technical structure. The latest developments cannot always be used. Technique cannot be imported whole.

If we analyze the state of the industrial arts today with the tremendous advances in technology, we are at once struck by the complexity of the structure.

THE FEATURES OF MODERN INDUSTRY

A highly developed industry based on mechanization and electric power is a composite of many elements. The well organized factory containing specialized machines, conveyor systems, and automatic equipment capable of the precision, interchangeability, and standardized performance necessary for turning out products on a mass production scale, stands at the helm. Powered from a central electric station, fed materials from forest, field, mine, refinery and mill, through an immense transport system; manned by engineers, mechanics, laborers, it is an intricate mechanism.

Electricity as the new transmission medium for power has given industry an adaptability and flexibility it has never before possessed. The highly efficient hydro-electric plant, the steam turbine, large central station power, the super power or "grid" system which links the energy resources of a tremendous area, often an entire country, are developments of prime importance.

Couple with this the principle of rapid change which is so important in modern technics, the widespread use of science in industry, the organized research laboratory, the industrial development department ever on the lookout for new and better materials and methods. Add further the wide variety of materials needed for a well functioning modern technical structure, iron and steel, coal and oil, wood, cotton, rubber, the non-ferrous metals, the new metallic alloys and light metals, the synthetic materials, the plastics.

The problems in transplanting a technical structure of this nature to industrially virgin soil are at once apparent. They are entirely different from those which a country faced when developing its industry at an early stage of technical evolution.

GREAT BRITAIN

Great Britain, the first power to carry the technical changes from the domestic and early factory systems through the industrial revolution, was faced with the technical problems of the pioneer. Hers were the problems of developing the basic mechanical inventions, coördinating them, and adjusting the productive relationships to insure their use.

The early inventions in the textile industries which revolutionized the processes of manufacture, decreased costs of production, and greatly increased demand, gave Britain a position on the world market which determined the degree of technical achievement she was to reach.

No longer was she manufacturing for her local market. She had become the "workshop of the world." Her entire technical structure was redirected. No longer was the early factory system, which concentrated the labor supply and the means of production, sufficient. Industry had started its march towards mechanization. Machinery, power, the large factory, further division of labor—these were now necessary to meet the existing market and to create a greater one.

England's large coal and iron deposits, her adaptable labor force, her developed sea power were all factors which enhanced the progress of technics.

The early inventions in the British textile industries were followed by those in iron and steel, in coal mining, in power development, in transport and communication. The growth of manufacture demanded more rapid transport facilities, and the railroad appeared. To meet the demand for pumping water out of the mines, the steam engine was developed. There was a need for large power resources, and the steam engine was recognized as a prime mover. The growth of the use of the steam engine and textile machinery created the demand for accurate machine tools, and we find a rapid development of the lathe, the boring mill, the milling machine. To meet the continued demands for products and machinery, factory organization was improved. This inner development of the technical structure, coupled with the dominant position in world trade, gave England its status as number one industrial power which she

was to hold right up to the World War.

AMERICA'S INDUSTRIAL GROWTH

The industrial revolution in England and the continent took place in a region already highly developed, with an established physical plant, quite rigid social customs, definite attitudes toward industry and trade. The direction which industry took was prompted by the needs of the age and responded to them. Yet in all cases it had to overcome a definite physical and social inertia. The movement was a slow process. The change from handicraft to machine technology entailed many problems.

The transfer of these developed technical innovations to any other country at a high stage of social development (not necessarily technical development) itself was a slow and painful process, similar in most cases to the one followed in the advanced England. But when these technical developments were transferred to relatively untouched America, the results were quite different. The opening up of the country was a rapid affair. The imported technical methods permitted land settlement on an entirely new scale. As one writer has said, "in England, the country developed the railroads; in the United States the railroads developed the country." So it was with the other branches of technics.

American industry was early faced with two tremendous problems, the problem of great demand due to its large continental area which was rapidly being developed, and the problem of labor scarcity. The conquest of the continent, the mastery of the wealth of natural resources necessitated the large scale utilization of transport and construction materials. Railroads spanned the country, buildings went up, means of communication were de-

veloped; and with them came the continuous building of the nation's plant equipment—the steel mills, the lumber mills, the machine tool plants, the mines, the chemical plants.

These were developed under great stress and with a comparatively small labor force. Early it was necessary to utilize labor saving mechanized equipment to make up for the scarcity in skilled labor. Efficiency in technical organization was recognized. Eli Whitney early in the nineteenth century evolved the interchangeable parts system—on a rather crude scale to be sure, but a definite advance in technics.

These features of American industry which were set by the nature of the large area and limited labor force left their permanent mark on American industry. With the rapid growth in population that accompanied the settlement of the frontier, there was added another distinguishing feature—the supplying of a mass consumer's market. There were no narrow nationalistic tariff barriers which hampered the development of the smaller European countries, and mass production on a new and truly *mass* scale was started.

The period of the most rapid development of American industry was during the World War. But the basis of this period was the early industrial expansion of post Civil War days, when the industrial structure freed from the fetters of the slave system took on a rapid growth. It was in this era that American industry definitely assumed those distinctive features which were to culminate in the technical triumphs which underlie modern industry—mass-production and mechanization, electrification, and efficient scientific management. In the automobile industry especially were these developments applied to the full, and their possibilities realized.

GERMANY

The other important technical powers, Germany and France, followed a peculiar development.

Germany hampered by her political difficulties, serfdom, the persistence of a large number of independent states, and the consequent medieval or handicraft method of production, did not start industrialization until the middle of the nineteenth century. It was then that she began to learn the latest industrial developments from England and Belgium, and to import industrial equipment. But the Germans soon became masters of the process.

They assimilated technics, and after their political unification in 1871, started on the large scale development of industry that was in a very short time to lead them to a ranking position among the world's industrial powers. With the Lorraine iron deposits which they received from France after the Franco-Prussian War, coupled with their own excellent coal deposits, the German coal and iron industry expanded at an unheard of rate. Germany built a machinery industry that was soon to reach the high standard of the British and American industries.

But she did not have an adequate resource structure necessary for a country industrializing at a wide and rapid rate. She lacked copper, lead, zinc, manganese, cotton, wool, as well as many foodstuffs, and other basic materials. Her iron deposits in spite of the excellent Lorraine area were insufficient and some ore was imported. This limited resource pattern forced German industry to take a rather unusual path.

Early in the process of industrialization, there took place the application of science to industry, the higher education of scientific and technical experts, and the large scale use of scientists in industry.

The limited resource pattern made necessary the most intensive use of existing resources, and only by an application of science and efficient technical organization was this possible. And soon Germany found that this intimate relation between science and technics (a product of resource poverty) became one of her most valuable assets. The German chemical and electrical industries became renowned throughout the world. German organic chemicals, aniline dyes, electrical equipment, were imported almost everywhere.

It was in this position, a leading industrial nation, that Germany entered the World War. She emerged, as is well known, with ruined industries, the loss of the Lorraine iron deposits and other valuable resource areas, the loss of her colonies, and the general shattering of her entire national structure. Then after the wild inflationary period, began the slow rebuilding of industry, agriculture, and commerce. The cartel, the combine, organizing industry horizontally and vertically, tried again to regain a position on the world market and to a great extent succeeded. In the badly shattered industries, the rationalization movement was started. Efficient organization, avoidance of waste, planning of production and resources utilization, standardization, were applied to the coal, chemical, iron and steel industries. Once again economic pressure led the Germans to advances in technics that regained their position as a leading technical power.

FRANCE

France, a leader in technical development in the pre-industrial stages, whose mechanics were eagerly sought after in England when the latter was industrializing, early dropped in the running due to her internal political and social conditions. Not until the twentieth century did she master modern technics. Individually her citizens contributed more to the advance of technics than those of many other countries, but as a whole, France was not advanced industrially.

Prior to the French Revolution, the medieval monarchic system with its high taxes, its gilds, its practice of privileged manufactures with monopolistic powers, held back technical progress. Agriculture was the mainstay of the French economic system. Both in agriculture and in industry (whatever industry there was), the small establishment was the rule, a small farm, a small shop, an individual artisan with few assistants. The self-sufficiency of the French, both regionally and nationally, due to their broad agricultural resources served to some degree as a drawback to technical progress.

The marked social changes wrought by the French Revolution, though it destroyed feudal privileges and spurred manufacture and agriculture to some extent, did not bring forth any marked changes in the technics of either industry or agriculture. Small individual holdings still persisted in each field.

Up to about 1850 there was little change in industrial development. Then, with more favorable foreign trade and domestic conditions, began the period of the development of railroads, the iron and steel industry, and other industries. France, though it had excellent supplies of iron ore, lacked adequate coal resources. This was one of her most serious difficulties when she started industrialization.

The Franco-Prussian War coming at the early stages of industrialization gave France a major setback. Ceding the rich Lorraine iron deposits to Germany in 1871 checked French economic development just as it spurred German development. But this was not for long, for several decades later, just before the turn of the

century, France started its most rapid period of industrialization prior to the post war spurt. French industry was still characterized in these relatively advanced stages by small scale organization, wide variety of products, and the craftsmanship spirit of its employees so different from that prevalent in mass production industry.

France emerged from the World War in a poor condition. Her industries shattered, she was, however, recompensed to some extent, by the Alsace and Lorraine areas ceded from Germany and the coal concessions in the Saar valley. She started rebuilding her industries and continued the industrialization process in progress prior to the war. Her iron and steel industries were developed to among the largest in the world. Water power was utilized on a large scale. Larger, better organized industrial units appeared. The scientific management movement was instituted together with the latest technical advances. The damaged industrial units were reequipped on a modern basis.

These were the industrialization trends of the leading industrial nations. In our own day we have seen the industrialization of backward countries. How have these countries fared? What are the distinctive features of their technical advance? How, especially, have Japan, Russia, and the colonial countries trod the path of industrialization, and how far have they mastered technical resources?

THE COLONIAL COUNTRIES

We have witnessed the utilization and development of resources in all parts of the world. In the Far East, in South and Central America, in farthest Africa, coal, oil, rubber, copper, tin, and other resources have been developed and exploited. Yet have these nations achieved an industrial status? Have they even learned (let alone mastered) modern industry? Almost without exception, the answer is, undoubtedly not.

For in the colonial countries both in the Far East and in South America, industrialization has been a process imposed from without. There has been no native mastery of technical resources whatever. Usually the industrialization process was merely an extension of the technical activities of the more advanced industrial nations. Supervision and technical direction, as well as ownership and control, rested with the guiding nation.

As Professor Erich W. Zimmermann has stated, these countries can "be considered as exclaves of the occidental economies whose representatives exploit them; for while geographically and sometimes also politically they lie outside of the respective territories of the exploiting power, in an economic sense they are parts of that power's 'land' or are owned by some of its nationals."

Besides this, these colonial countries are seldom developed as complete industrial units even by the advanced nation. An industrial country, as we have discussed previously, is a complex of many elements, interacting and interdependent, which must be developed simultaneously or in a regular sequence to achieve maximum socially desirable utilization.

In these countries, however, merely one element is developed, the raw materials are extracted, or a particularly favorable industry expanded. It is desirable for the exploiting nation to keep complete industrial development down even where it is possible (for in most cases the resource deposits do not allow reasonable industrialization), so that the markets for its manufactured goods are not disturbed.

JAPAN

The industrial development of Japan has been greatly overrated. She has been grouped indiscriminately with the leading industrial powers, has been considered a menace to world trade, has been looked upon as one of the leading industrial nations of the future. What bases are there for such beliefs? What is the true nature of Japan's industrial position, and how has she achieved it?

Japan's industrialization began shortly before the "opening" of the country by Commodore Perry. For 75 years there has been a slow but steady growth of the industrial resources of the country. Encouraged by the government, subsidized with tremendous state funds, the Japanese textile industry has been developed, and a coal, iron, and shipping industry built. Yet judged from our modern standards, Japan is not an industrial country. The strength of her textile industries as well as her smaller consumer goods industries lies to a great extent in their technical backwardness. Her capital goods industries are built on a very infirm basis. Withdraw government aid and subsidies from her iron, steel, coal, and shipping industries and the entire group of them will collapse. These have been developed essentially as war industries and have almost no peace time basis whatever. In fact iron and steel can in many cases be imported more cheaply from abroad than they can be made in Japan.

Japan has two favorable factors for industrialization—a large labor supply and a nearness to the tremendous Asiatic market. She is, however, lacking in the basic resources needed in an industrial economy. Her iron and coal resources are small and of a poor grade, and without these basic materials no country can achieve a primary industrial status.

In the early and middle part of the nineteenth century Japan was a feudal state, much more so than was England centuries earlier. With rigid social customs and class lines, established institutions and industrial practices, she did not know what change meant. When the governing forces in Japan found that to maintain or develop a position in world trade and politics they would have to master western industrial practice and organization, they were faced with this difficulty of a population by its history and deeply ingrained conventions, entirely unsuited to the rapid change that is the distinctive feature of modern technics.

But this persistence of feudal customs, though it was a decided drawback, also aided to some extent the process of industrialization. For with the highly organized feudal government acting as sponsor and initiator of industrial growth, Japan was able to skip several stages and import technical advances from the west at a very rapid rate. Machinery was bought from abroad, foreign technical experts were hired, Japanese students were sent to British and German technical schools, and foreign instructors were imported into the Japanese schools. And in half a century Japan had built up a technical structure which overcame to some extent, but could not entirely throw off, its feudal heritage. During the World War, with the entire Asiatic market thrown open to her, and even some of the western market, due to the western nations' preoccupation with the war, Japanese industry expanded at an even greater rate. But Japan at all times had to contend with the more developed industries of Britain and the other nations. She was never *sole* supplier of any appreciable market, and this to a great extent has hampered and is hampering her further development.

The nature of Japanese industrial expansion was never entirely modern. She

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never mastered modern technics. In her textile industries even today, there is still a firm handicraft hangover. Domestic industry is still quite common. In fact, it is due to this feudal organization of the textile industry and the low wages which she pays her workers, that Japan can compete on the world market in the textile and general consumer goods industries. In the capital goods industries—steel, coal, machinery, electrical, shipping— Japan is at the state of the technics which she has imported or at present imports. Her machinery is to a great extent either entirely imported from abroad or made in Japan from foreign plans.

Japanese workers and engineers have learned to use their imported technics. They have not mastered them sufficiently to add to technical organization and advance. The Japanese government is aware of these trends and for some time now has tried to overcome them.

Professor John E. Orchard, an able student of Japanese industry and economy, has well summarized Japan's position:

Japan has made progress in the development of manufacture, remarkable progress if the poverty of raw materials is considered, but . . . Japan has not reached an industrial stature comparable to that of England, United States, or Germany. Her possibilities for industrialization are limited and there seems to be no prospect that Japan can attain a position of major importance as a manufacturing nation. Fuel and iron ore are essential in peace as well as in war and their scarcity is the principal obstacle to Japanese industrialization.

SOVIET RUSSIA

It is to Soviet Russia that we can look for a large scale importation and *technical mastery* of modern industry.

Imperial Russia was characterized by the medieval nature of its economy. Serfdom persisted until 1861 and after that inefficient agricultural methods and organization continued. Industry began its growth late in Russian economy and when it did take root it, too, was characterized by inefficiency and small scale development. Even in the few large scale enterprises inefficiency was prevalent, and brutality was a primary factor in industrial relations. The character of the Russian peasant drawn on for the labor supply, servile, lethargic, ignorant; as well as the backward imperial organization and psychology prevalent in Russian economy were definite retarding factors. Yet industry was developed to some extent.

After the revolution, the Soviet state was faced with further and even greater problems. Agriculture was in a poor condition. Whatever industry there existed, was ruined. The economic blockade and the persistent civil war did not permit reconstruction. Industry declined to about a fifth of the pre-war level of production. The food supply was scarce. Then came the slow rebuilding during the Nep (New Economic Policy) period, until in 1927 the pre-war production level was reached.

In 1928 the first Five Year Plan was introduced. Large scale, purposive industrialization was begun on a planned coordinated basis. Heavy industry was to be built, a transport system organized, and the raw material and power resources of the country developed. The difficulties which the Soviets encountered in building their economy are well known. The large area of the Soviet Republic, the unpopulated resource regions, their undeveloped transport system, their poor backward labor supply, inadequate capital, food shortage, lack of trained technical help, were all sources of weakness. Yet the Soviets overcame these difficulties. With the aid of foreign engineers they imported modern technique, and made every effort to master it.

The completion of the first Five Year

Plan in four years found Russia with a firmly developed heavy industry. The poor product, unskilled labor force, lack of technical forces characteristic of the early stages of Soviet industrialization were, to a great extent, overcome, and work was immediately started on the second Five Year Plan to continue developing heavy industry and to begin building the consumers' goods industries.

Russia could very easily have imported technical equipment for her consumers' goods industries in the early stages. She preferred, however, to build an industrial base first, to be able to equip these industries and to feed her capital goods industries independently of outside aid as early as possible. She aimed at technical independence and is quite rapidly achieving it.

Due to her tremendous area and excellent natural resources, undeveloped, yet potentially extremely rich from the industrial standpoint, Soviet Russia offers an excellent example of the transplantation of an entire technical culture. Russia imported and is rapidly assimilating modern technics. In adapting world technique to her problems many advances are possible. The technical problems set by the changed organizational set up, and the tremendous scope of industrial activities may call forth new technical developments. As yet the major problem has been to build an industrial base. This was possible only by the importation of what the advanced industrial nations had already developed.

In many cases Russia had to forego building her industry on the latest technical methods possible. The danger of war forced her hastily to build up her industrial structure on the basis of the best plant equipment extant, yet not making certain desirable advances in adaptation. She had to forgo entering immediately what Lewis Mumford calls the "Neotechnic Phase."

Some advances in adaptation were made.

In the power field attempts were made in developing power at the mine. In mining proper, better methods were devised, e.g., Stakhanoff's work recently. In management and organization new methods have been developed. The technics of planning have been enlarged. Pioneer work in the mechanization of agriculture is being done. The *basic* technical structure, however, is that already developed in the more advanced industrial countries.

Russia has in her technical backwardness a definite "advantage" so far as the future is concerned. In building her resource structure she can, and to a great extent does, avoid the errors of industrialization made by the more advanced nations. She has gained from their experience. Unencumbered by the obsolescence problem facing these nations and the retarding force which large fixed capital influences can exert, she has tremendous possibilities if mastery of technical resources will be complete.

We would do well to remember that in the early stages of American industrialization, America did not contribute very much to the advance of technics. England and the continent, from whom she imported her technics, remained the pioneers in industrial development. But when America had built her basic structure, the possibilities of technical development in a country not hampered by obsolescence and the vestiges of established customs and institutions were realized.

RECENT TRENDS IN TECHNICS

If we examine the recent advances in technics generally, we can discern five distinct trends.

1. In the capital goods industries there has been a steady development towards greater productivity. Automaticity has been further developed. Improved mechanical and electrical control devices, higher precision methods and tools have

been evolved in manufacturing. Visitors at the recent machine tool show in Cleveland were amazed at the advances in these fields.

While many industries have not availed themselves of these latest advances, there has been a tendency in the last year on the part of the larger industrial units, e.g., General Electric, United States Steel, the automobile companies, the railroads, in our country, to institute modernization plans.

2. In the planning of production both nationally and within an industry, there have been definite advances. The trend toward planning on a fairly large scale is a positive trend made necessary by the increased complexity of present day industry and the interconnections between its various parts. While the nature, scope, and aims of planning for production are a function of the type of political and social system under which it occurs, the technics of planning are being continuously developed in all systems.

3. The problem of resources conservation and reclamation are being given greater attention. As the United States National Resources Board Report stated:

The problem centers around the facts of limited occurrence and exhaustibility (of raw materials, I.N.L.). Complete exhaustion is too far in the future to cause immediate concern, but the depletion of reserves to the point at which costs begin to mount rapidly is not far distant in some minerals and will handicap an industrial life that has been built upon abundance of cheap mineral raw materials. Waste must be reduced and technology improved.

4. The industrial art and design movement has been recognized and fostered. The aesthetic as well as the technical possibilities inherent in machine production due to improved methods, newer materials (the plastics, light metals, alloys, etc.), improved surface finishes, have to some extent been realized and are being consciously developed. The now

frequent industrial art exhibits have familiarized the public with these advances and sponsor further progress in the field.

5. The problem of developing and conserving workers skill is again receiving wide attention. No concept could have been more harmful to modern industry than the one generally prevalent that in the modern worker there was little need for skill or general training. For not only skilled workers, but the great mass of semi-skilled and so called unskilled workers, the machine tenders, must be trained and adapted to the work methods. Countries importing industrialism at a late stage are aware of the problems of educating a labor force, and bend every effort towards training an adequate personnel.

The more highly developed industrial nations seem to have forgotten this problem, and during the last six depression years there has been a marked loss in technical aptitude in both the skilled and unskilled strata of the industrial population. When industrial revival occurred on even a small scale, this lack of adequately trained personnel was definitely felt. Efforts are being made to overcome this difficulty and to prevent its recurrence. How this will be possible in the face of possible future industrial depressions, it is of course difficult to say.

All these trends are signs of a technical maturity. They can arise only in an industry that is highly developed. Their importance in the various economies which we have discussed differs, the more advanced industrial nations initiating and developing them, the less advanced economies making use of them when necessary. Just how far these trends will be further developed, what road technical progress in general will take is dependent more upon political and social conditions than upon any inherent pattern in technics itself.

TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE
SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE SOCIAL SCIENCE FELLOWSHIPS IN AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS AND RURAL SOCIOLOGY*

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Connecticut State College

AT THE 1927 meeting of the American Farm Economic Association, Dr. Henry C. Taylor presented a paper on the status of research in Agricultural Economics in the United States. Dr. Taylor pointed out in this paper, and

* This article was the report for a committee which has been discharged for three years. It does not seem to me that I should make any marked changes in the report of this committee, which cannot be brought together to consider the nature of the report to be made. I do feel that events which have transpired during the three years have made the need for the training of men in agricultural economics and rural sociology much more pronounced than it was when this article was written. The Agricultural Committee of the Social Science Research Council, now under the chairmanship of Dr. H. R. Tolley of the University of California, has been given attention and making efforts to find some way by which funds can be secured for assisting in the training of young men of exceptional promise in these fields. So far, as I understand it, their efforts have been fruitless. The competition of various federal agencies during the last three years has not only absorbed the supply of trained men but has largely denuded the smaller colleges of the professional staffs which were used in the training of these men. What the effect of the recent Supreme Court decision will have on the immediate supply of agricultural economists and rural sociologists, I am not sure. I feel quite confident, however, that the long-time demand for high grade men is going to exceed the supply and that it is almost a necessity that some attack be organized on the problem.—*Author.*

more strongly in the extemporaneous discussion of the meeting, the weaknesses of research work and the limitations of research workers in this field, and stated that the "Committee on Economics and Social Research in Agriculture felt so keenly the importance of this matter that they recommended to the Social Science Research Council that a number of fellowships be provided for the specific purpose of stimulating graduate work on the part of research workers in Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology."

The outcome of this recommendation was an appropriation of a sum of $150,000 by the Social Science Research Council and the constitution of a committee of five to administer the fund under the auspices of the Council. The original committee consisted of Dr. E. G. Nourse, Chairman; Dr. Joseph S. Davis of the Food Research Institute, Stanford University; Dr. Frank A. Fetter, Princeton University; Dr. C. J. Galpin, United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics; Dr. W. J. Spillman, United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics; and Mr. Henry A. Wallace of Wallace's Farmer, now Secretary of Agriculture in the Cabinet of President Roosevelt.

After three years of service, Dr. Davis

resigned to be succeeded by Professor I. G. Davis of the Connecticut State College. The following year the chairman, Dr. E. G. Nourse, resigned and was succeeded in the chairmanship by Professor Davis. The resignation of Dr. Galpin and the death of Dr. Spillman led to the apointments of Dr. J. H. Kolb of the University of Wisconsin, Professor H. R. Tolley of the University of California, and Dr. C. L. Holmes of the United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics. The committee as thus constituted served until the termination of the work of the committee.

The principles which guided the committee in the selection of appointees are in general known to Agricultural Economists and Rural Sociologists. Awards were made to men of proven ability but inadequate training, or to younger men of exceptional promise. In the early years of the committee's work an effort was made to strengthen the education of certain key men who were the established research workers or leaders of research in their institutions. Later an increasing number of appointments were made to young men of promise, but some appointments continued to be made on the ground that the appointees were key men whose further education was essential to progress of research in some field or area. The general policies laid down by the committee during its early years under the chairmanship of Dr. Nourse were followed throughout the history of the committee.

Awards were made for purposes of completing the graduate training and education of prospective researchers. Petitions for grants to conduct research, to complete theses, or to travel were consistently denied. In the majority of cases grants were made to applicants desiring to complete a second or final year of graduate training prior to work on a thesis. In a large number of cases grants were made to individuals in established positions who were able to secure a leave of absence for study.

In the selection of fellows an effort was made, as far as consistent with selecting the ablest and more promising men, to secure an even geographical distribution of awards. In some years this problem was more difficult than in others. The level of preparation was much higher in some sections and institutions than in others, and in general the institutions having the stronger departments in the social sciences had tended to attract the stronger students and faculty. The results achieved as far as geographical distribution is concerned are indicated in Table I.

From the beginning applicants limited their plans for study to a few better staffed and organized graduate schools. In choosing appointees, little consideration was given to the applicant's choice of university, but emphasis was directed very largely to his ability, promise, and the service which his training might render to the development of research in the rural social sciences in the United States.

Table II shows the choice of universities of the several applicants who received awards during the period of the committee's existence.

In October, 1933, seventy-one of the 106 appointees were serving the institutions where they resided at the time of the original appointment.[1] Twenty-seven of the seventy-one had received promotions of grade.

Of the original appointees, 18 held the rank of professor or its equivalent in the government service at the time of appointment. Twenty-nine held this rank in 1933. Twelve held the grade of associate

[1] Between October, 1933 and April, 1934 eighteen appointees transferred to service in Washington, D. C. to positions connected with the Federal service or related private employment.

TABLE I

Geographical Distribution of Fellowship Appointees, States from Which They Were Appointed and Were Serving in October, 1933

1. NORTHERN STATES	Appointed from	On Service in 1933	2. SOUTHERN STATES	Appointed from	On Service in 1933	3. WESTERN STATES	Appointed from	On Service in 1933
New England:			*South Atlantic:*			*Mountain Division:*		
Maine..........		1	Delaware.......			Montana........	4	2
New Hampshire...	1	1	Maryland.......			Idaho..........		
Vermont........	2	1	D. Columbia.....	16	23*	Wyoming........	1	
Massachusetts....	3	3	Virginia........	2	3	Colorado........	2	1
Rhode Island....			W. Virginia......	1		New Mexico.....	1	1
Connecticut......	3	3	North Carolina...	3	1	Arizona.........		
			South Carolina....	2	2	Utah...........		
Middle Atlantic:			Georgia.........			Nevada.........		
New York.......	6	7	Florida..........	1	1			
New Jersey.......	2	1				*Pacific:*		
Pennsylvania.....			*E. South Central:*			Washington......		1
			Kentucky........	4	3	Oregon.........		
East North Central:			Tennessee........	1	1	California........	5	5
Ohio...........	3	4	Alabama.........	2	1			
Indiana.........			Mississippi......			*Canada:*		
Illinois.........	4	7				Winnipeg........	1	1
Michigan........			*W. South Central:*					
Wisconsin........	9	5	Arkansas.........	1	1	*Foreign:*		
			Louisiana........	1	3	Jugoslavia.......		1
West North Central:			Oklahoma.......			Germany.........		1
Minnesota.......	8	1	Texas...........	2	2			
Iowa...........	6	4				Unknown or no position.......		5
Missouri........	1							
North Dakota....	2	1						
South Dakota....	1	3						
Nebraska........	2	2						
Kansas..........	3	1						
Total............							106	106

Summary

	AP-POINTED FROM	ON SERVICE IN 1933		AP-POINTED FROM	ON SERVICE IN 1933
New England......................	9	9	West South Central..............	4	6
Middle Atlantic..................	8	8	Mountain Division...............	8	4
East North Central..............	16	16	Pacific.........................	5	6
West North Central..............	23	14	Canada.........................	1	1
South Atlantic...................	9	7	Foreign.........................		2
East South Central..............	7	5	Unknown.......................		5
District of Columbia.............	16	23*			

* Since October 18 additional fellowship men have transferred to work in Washington either permanently or on leave of absence.

professor at the time of appointment and 23 held this grade in the summer of 1933. Forty-three held the grade of assistant professor or its equivalent in the governmental service at the time of appointment and twenty-nine held this grade in the summer of 1933. Twelve held the rank of instructor at the time of appointment and six returned to this rank. Nineteen were listed as graduate students when they received their appointments and eight were so listed in 1933. Two appointees held business positions in the research line when they accepted their fellowships and in 1933, two were again listed as

total appointees would probably be from the field of rural sociology. While a real effort was made to attain this proportion, in some years it was found difficult because of the relative scarcity of qualified applicants from rural sociology. The committee does not feel satisfied with the number of appointments made from this field, but believes that it could not wisely have increased this number. (See Table III.)

On October, 1933 letters were directed to the heads of departments of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, to directors of Experiment Stations, to promi-

TABLE II

Table Showing Number of Fellows Appointed to Each of Several Universities

	WASH-INGTON, D. C.*	CALIFOR-NIA	CHICAGO	COLUM-BIA	CORNELL	HARVARD	MINNE-SOTA	NORTH WESTERN	STAN-FORD	WIS-CONSIN	FOR-EIGN	TOTAL
1928–29			1	2	3	7	2			1	1	17†
1929–30		1	2½	2	2½	9	3½		1	2½		24
1930–31		1	1	2½	3½	8	2			4		22
1931–32			1	1	2	13	1	1		1		20
1932–33	1	4	1		4	9	1			2		22
Total......	1	6	6½	7½	15	46	9½	1	1	10½	1	105

* Graduate courses in Agricultural Economics maintained by the Social Science Research Council.
† One case missing.

being in business. Two held foreign positions in 1933 and information is lacking on five men in 1933.

In general the appointments from the institutions of higher grade were from the lower ranks or from graduate students, while the appointments from the smaller institutions and the areas where the college work in the social sciences was less well developed were from the higher grades of rank.

Both rural sociology and agricultural economics were represented on the committee. In general it was anticipated in laying out the policy of the committee that somewhat less than a third of the

nent persons in rural social sciences in the governmental service and to a few others. The letters asked for opinions as to the

TABLE III

Distribution of Fellowships by Years, 1928–1933

	1928–29	1929–30	1930–31	1931–32	1932–33	TOTAL
Agricultural Economics.........	13	19½	17	17	16	82½
Rural Sociology....	5	4½	5	3	6	23½
Total...........	18	24	22	20	22	106

values, both social and professional, arising from the five years' experience in the granting of fellowships in Agricultural

Economics and Rural Sociology by the
Social Science Research Council; for criti-
cisms of the policies and methods of the
Committee; and for constructive sug-
gestions both as to the nature of the need
for similar funds in the future and as to the
policies that should be employed for their
administration. In April, 1934, a second
letter was addressed to a portion of the
same list requesting opinion as to whether
a shortage of agricultural economists ex-
isted and as to the nature of the demand
likely to exist for the next few years.

The replies indicated a very general
belief that the results obtained had amply
justified the expenditure. The testimony
was quite unanimous that the men who
had received awards had not only acquired
an understanding of theory and method
which had resulted in more effective re-
search method and procedure, but that
they had developed a firmer grasp and
broader conception of research problems.
The Social Science fellowships in Agri-
cultural Economics and Rural Sociology,
as is suggested by one correspondent, not
only resulted in the more thorough train-
ing of men and women, but served to
stimulate advanced study by many others
and helped set new and higher standards
for professional training in these fields.
The administrators whose staff members
have been recipients of fellowships were
in unanimous agreement that the work of
these men has been improved and their
value to agriculture and their fields had
markedly increased as a result of the
additional professional training received.

A note of regret appears in the replies
of a number of administrators in institu-
tions to whose staff members no awards
were made. This appears most frequently
in the Southern States.

Most of the replies to the April letter
testify to a present shortage of men in the
social sciences, especially in Agricultural

Economics. The staffs of many of the
state institutions are at present seriously
depleted of their abler men. The future
both of teaching and research may be
seriously endangered by this condition.
Only two states report no shortage in the
supply of men. A note of extreme caution,
however, characterizes most of the ex-
pressions of opinion relating to the future
demand for men in these fields, and a
number of the correspondents express
doubts as to the continuance of the present
increasing demand and as to the perma-
nence of various governmental relief and
reconstruction agencies being set up.

In attempting to estimate the future
demand, it seems reasonable to take into
account two factors: first, the sharp in-
crease in demand for men created by the
setting up of projects under the New Deal
will diminish, and a greater or less reduc-
tion in the rate of increase in these projects
may be expected after a peak has been
reached in the near future. It is even
possible, of course, that readjustments
may occur so violent as to cause the
abandonment of many or most of the
projects already adopted. Second, there
is a gradually growing popular recognition
of the value of services of properly trained
agricultural economists and rural soci-
ologists. The secular trend of demand
for men in this field is undoubtedly up-
ward. Rural social scientists will un-
doubtedly be called upon to perform an
increasing number of important and often
specialized services as public adminis-
trators or executives. It seems likely,
moreover, that there will be an expanding
demand for persons qualified to do the
spade work of the social sciences, that is,
competent field observers, statisticians,
and persons able to do qualitative work
of a semi-routine nature. O. R. Johnson
of Missouri suggests that most of the
work of county agents for some time to

come will be largely economic in nature. Such positions as those of county agents, extension workers, market reporters and agricultural publicists may come to be filled in considerable proportion by men trained to interpret social data and to make sound economic and social analysis of an elementary type. A much larger body of men competent to use results of social research and qualified to criticise its methods intelligently is thus being gradually created. This body of men will eventually include a considerable portion of the general public. Not only does the need exist for much better trained research men than has existed in the past, but the criteria of public judgment and criticism are likely to be on an increasingly higher plane and the users of research results less tolerant of anything except work of the highest quality.

The events of the past year have demonstrated that in periods of emergency it is from the body of research workers that administrators and advisers are recruited. They alone oftentimes possess the detailed accurate and timely knowledge necessary to grapple successfully with important problems. While the transfer of such men weakens research, it constitutes its strongest justification. Oftentimes the knowledge and understanding of the researcher can be applied only by himself.

A qualified and able working research organization of ordinary times is available for sound planning and administration in periods of emergency. Through the research worker as an administrator or adviser and through him alone can some of the most important results of research be applied in the realms either of private or public affairs.

Some of the research men who have transferred to administrative or advisory positions in this emergency will continue to remain in these or other such positions.

Such a movement if it does not occur too rapidly is desirable, and in normal times a gradual movement of this kind is likely to occur and tends to help accomplish the purposes of research. The suggestion of Professor Jesness that the new developments in credit and land utilization are likely to be permanent appears to be well founded. Some of the other developments probably will be modified, but a reasonable expectation is that they will be continued in some form and on a considerable scale.

In view of this constant normal depletion of research personnel the necessity for its continuous replacement always exists. In a period like the present the sharpness of the need is intensified. The situation is mitigated somewhat by the reduced budgets of many research organizations and of experiment stations, but only temporarily.

The need is for men of the highest quality. Dr. Grimes says in his letter: "There is an urgent need of real ability, trained in the fundamentals of agricultural economics and rural sociology." We cannot emphasize too strongly the importance of a broad basic training in all the social sciences as well as in certain fundamentals of agriculture as a basis for graduate work in these fields. While admitting the necessity for statistical training of the highest quality, graduate work should emphasize theoretical and historical work and include critical qualitative analysis under the ablest teachers. As Dr. Zimmerman points out, an increase in quality will eventually increase demand and by the same token, rewards.

The Committee feels that the need still exists for fellowship funds in the fields of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology. As suggested by the foregoing discussion, such funds should be utilized for the education of men of the highest personal quality and promise. The Com-

mittee further feels that all possible effort should be given to recruiting promising undergraduates and first year graduate students. In a small college an outstanding man likely to make a first class research worker in a particular field may not turn up more than once in three or four years. A larger number appear who, if properly trained, will do good research work of certain simpler types; but ordinary training facilities normally take care of such men. Even for these men, however, as Professor Weaver points out, "the greatest need is for some way to bridge the gap from undergraduate training to the point where they have one or two years' experience in the elementary methods of research." A number of correspondents, including Professor Young of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and Professor Sanders of Oklahoma, indicate that the graduate assistantships of various departments ordinarily offer such an opportunity, but that financial stringency has eliminated many of these.

All too often it happens that graduate assistantships are filled with mediocre men. No method exists in fact by which departments can get the best men the country affords for such positions except by comprehensive and time-consuming efforts. The committee has considered whether or not it might be wise if some central committee were to maintain a list of the most promising undergraduate seniors and graduate students in American institutions desirous of obtaining financial assistance for perfecting their training for rural social science research. Such a list should be selective, and scholastic records, research manuscripts, and references of persons kept on file and available to any institutions wishing to consult the same. Colleges and universities having persons eligible for such a list could be invited to make nominations for it and to consult this list in granting fellowships or selecting assistants. This recommendation is in line with Dr. Galpin's suggestion that a watch be set in the colleges for undergraduates who have high and special quality for research. Such a watch need not be confined to the land grant colleges.

THE RELATIVE PRESTIGE OF TWENTY PROFESSIONS AS JUDGED BY THREE GROUPS OF PROFESSIONAL STUDENTS*

WALTER COUTU

University of Wisconsin

THIS paper is descriptive of an experimental study made at the University of Wisconsin during the school year 1934–35. The objectives of the study were (1) to see whether the method of paired comparisons could be satisfactorily used in measuring the relative prestige of a number of representative professions (references 1, 2, 3);[1] and (2) to use this method, if shown to be reliable, to study the attitudes of groups of Professional students toward their own future professions as compared with other recog-

[1] *References:* 1. Thurstone, L. L., "The Law of Comparative Judgment," *Psychological Review*, 1927, 34: 273–286; 2. Thurston, L. L., "The Method of Paired Comparisons for Social Values," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1927, 21: 384–400; 3. Thurstone, L. L., "An Experimental Study of

nized professions. Under the latter objective it was desired to investigate (a) whether representative samples of students from recognized Professional schools differ significantly in their attitudes toward the relative prestige of their own future professions as compared with nineteen other professions; (b) whether such attitudes in these homogeneous groups are as well defined as Thurstone found student attitudes to be in hetereogeneous groups with reference to nationality preferences and the relative seriousness of various crimes (3, 2, 4); and (c) whether such a study could provide any objective data on the theories of Park and Bogardus concerning social and occupational distance (5, 6, 7) and on Shideler's concept of the social distance margin (8).

For the present study it was felt that since the Census Bureau has discovered some 125,000 occupations in America, an experimental study ought to confine itself to some one type of occupation. The study was therefore limited to the professions. For this purpose the writer chose twenty professions which he feels are representative of his classification of 73 professions.[2]

The schedule used[3] contains 20 professions to be compared each with every other, making $\frac{20 \times 19}{2} = 190$ comparisons plus 6 comparisons repeated for purposes

Nationality Preferences," *Journal of General Psychology*, 1928, 1: 405–425; 4. Peterson, Ruth C. and Thurstone, L. L., *Motion Pictures and the Social Attitudes of Children*, New York; Macmillan, 1933, (Payne Fund Studies); 5. Park, Robert E, and Burgess, E. W., *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, Chicago: Univ., of Chicago Press, 1921; 6. Bogardus, E. S., "Occupational Distance," *Sociology and Social Research*, 1928, 13: 73 ff.; 7. Wilkinson, Forrest (Miss), "Social Distance Between Occupations," *Sociology and Social Research*, 1929, 13: 234 ff.; 8. Shideler, E. H., "The Social Distance Margin," *Sociology and Social Research*, 1927, 12: 243 ff.; 9. Rice, Stuart A., *Statistics in Social Studies*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930.

of an empirical check of consistency of judgment. The samples include 243 Engineering students, representing 39 per cent of the Engineering school; 142 Law students or 30 per cent of the Law school; 202 Medical students or 58 per cent of the Medical school. Members of the faculties of the three schools presented the schedules to their own classes during class periods.

The data from the schedules were punched on Hollerith cards and were sorted and counted on machines. These raw figures were then transformed into proportions of students who underlined profession A in preference to profession B in each pair, and the proportions were used to calculate the scale value of each profession according to the Law of Comparative Judgment (1, 2, 3).

The method provides two tests of reliability. The six pairs which were repeated at the end of the schedule furnish an empirical test of internal consistency when they are compared with the first six on the schedule, which are identical. The errors by this test are: Engineering group .034; Law group .023; Medical group .035. The other test is an indirect test of consistency provided by the cross-comparisons and calculated sigma values. The corresponding errors by this test are: .032, .031, and .039 respectively.[4] It is therefore felt that Objective I is satisfactorily attained, for it is seen that the errors by the direct and indirect tests are practically the same and they approximate the errors in Thurstone's studies which he considers satisfactory.

RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION

The results are graphically presented in different form in Charts 1 and 2. The

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[2] The study concerned with the definition and classification of the professions is not yet complete.

[3] See face sheet of final schedule at end of this paper.

scales in Chart 1 may be called scales of prestige, and they show the relative prestige which the twenty professions hold in the minds of each of the experimental groups. The judgments of the Medical group are represented by the scale at the left, those of the Law group by the center scale, and those of the Engineering group by the scale at the right. On each scale the profession with the highest prestige value is used as an arbitrary origin which makes all the other values minus.

(a) The scales indicate that the three groups of Professional students do differ considerably in their attitudes toward the relative prestige of their own future profession as compared with 19 other representative professions. This is indicated not only by the comparative length of the scales, representing difference in range of sigma values, but also by the relative distances and proximities on all of the scales. Each group, the Medical group in particular, considers its own profession to be superior to all others in prestige, yet only two groups, Law and Engineering, agree on their choice for second place, and all three differ in the relative degree of prestige which they grant their second choice as compared with their own and the other professions.[5] However, in the preliminary experiment in which 100 students took part, 87 per cent of whom were women preparing to be social workers, *Social Worker* appeared sixth from the bottom at the point 2.25 on a scale of 3.0

[4] These errors are interpreted as follows: Reference to the face sheet of the schedule shows the first six pairs which were repeated at the end of the schedule. Of the 243 Engineering students 128 underlined *Dentist* in the pair *Dentist-Clergyman* on the first page and only 122 did so when the pair was repeated—a difference of 6 or .025. When these differences for the six pairs are averaged the error is .035, which means that 3½ per cent of the group were inconsistent in their preferences when underlining the repeated pairs.

sigma, which is a fair indication that the method reveals honest attitudinal responses. The Law group, in which there were but four women, also placed *Social Worker* sixth from the bottom, while the Medical and Engineering groups think less of this minor profession and each places it third from the bottom. (The Medical group includes thirteen women, the Engineering group only one.)[6]

(b) It was desired to discover, if possible, whether student attitudes would be shown to be as well defined toward occupation as Thurstone found student attitudes to be toward nationality and the relative seriousness of various crimes. The length of scale, or range of sigma values, may be interpreted as indicating the degree of intensity of feeling, or "degree of affect about a psychological object," to use Thurstone's words (9—pp. 194-5). Intensity of feeling leads to a wide range of sigma values, and may be interpreted as indicating relatively well defined attitudes. Thurstone tested 239

[5] The use of the word *choose* is not exact, for the students did not actually *choose to place* any of the items on the scales. After a student had filled out a schedule he had no conception of where the various professions would fall on a scale, nor even the rank order which they would assume. The very fact that there is no such conscious choice is one of the more subtle properties of the method and lends significance to the indirect check of internal consistency. For example, on the schedule each of the twenty professions appears in nineteen comparisons with other professions. In the Medical group there were 202 students who took part. Therefore each profession appeared in $202 \times 19 = 3838$ comparisons. Of the 3838 comparisons in which *Physician* appeared with some other profession, 98 per cent of the preferences were for *Physician*; in the 3838 comparisons in which *Research Scientist (Natural Sciences)* appeared, 77 per cent of the preferences were for that profession.

[6] Data at hand for other female groups indicate that women students are inclined to rank their own professions below the more prominent "male professions." This is probably to be expected in our culture.

undergraduates at the University of Chicago on their attitudes toward the

the Medical group in the present study is seen to be 5.28 sigmas, while the ranges

THE RELATIVE SOCIAL PRESTIGE OF TWENTY PROFESSIONS
AS JUDGED BY THREE GROUPS OF PROFESSIONAL STUDENTS
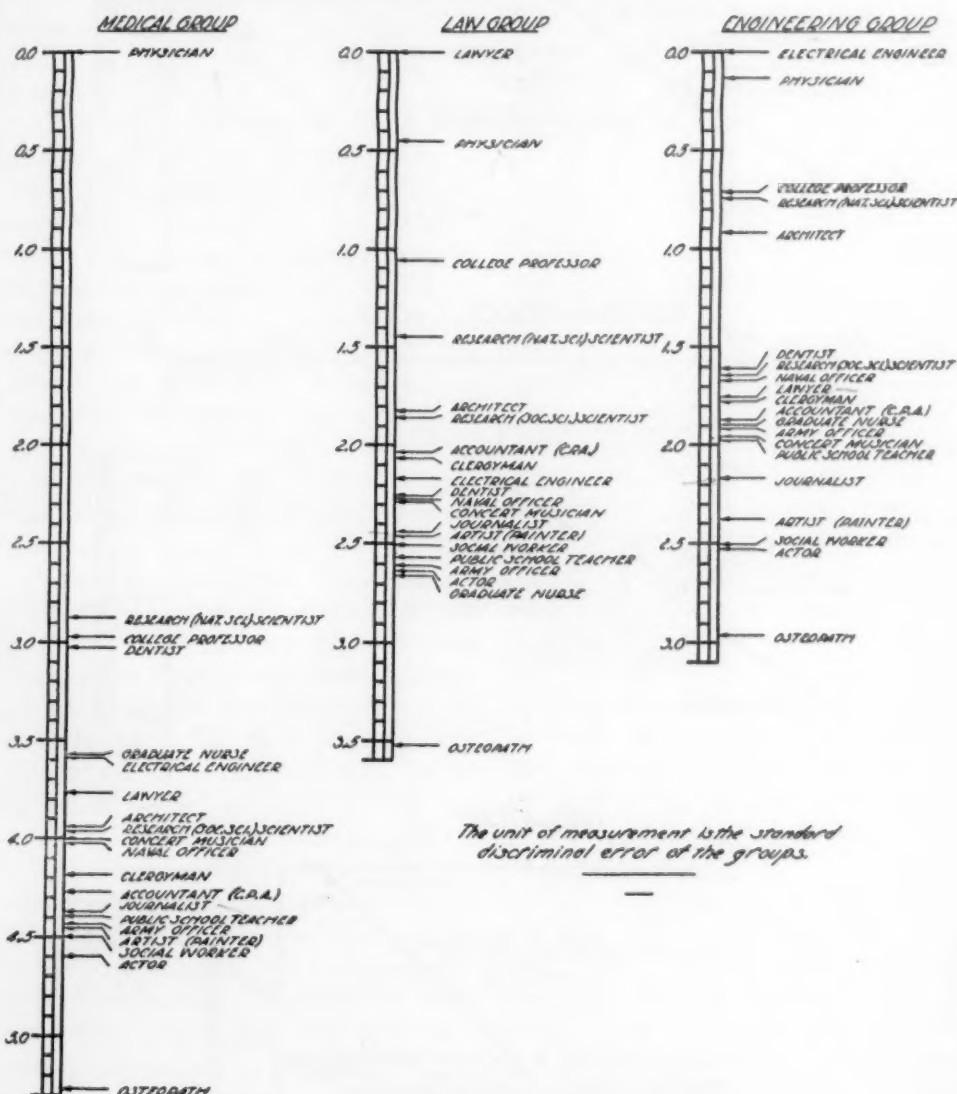
CHART I

desirability of associating with 21 nationalities (3). The range of scale values on his nationality scale is from *American* at 0, to *Negro* at 5.82 sigmas. The range of

for the Law and Engineering groups are, respectively, 3.53 and 2.97 sigmas.

Thurstone made a similar study to measure student attitudes toward the rela-
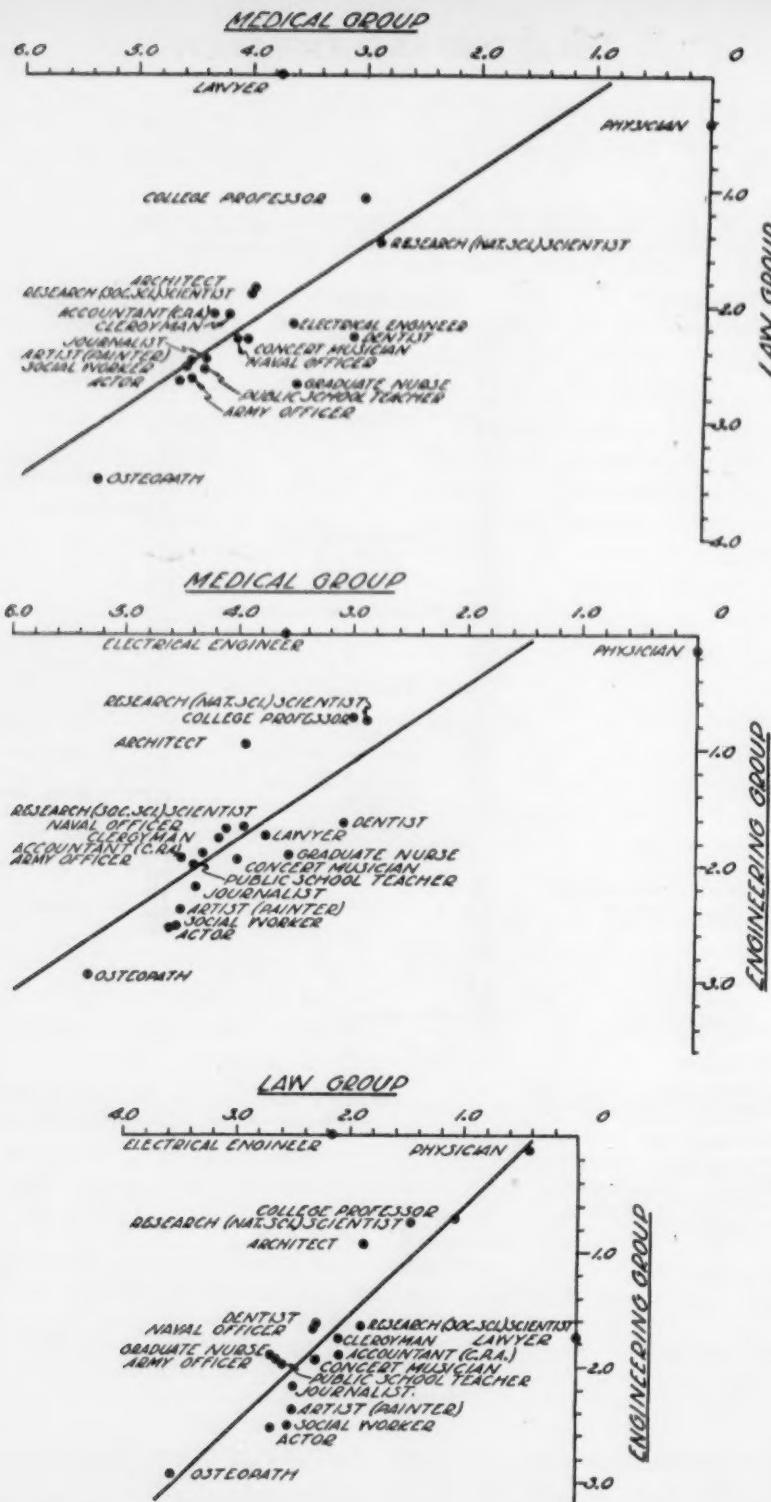
CHART 2. RELATIVE PRESTIGE VALUES OF PROFESSIONS. SCALES AS MADE BY MEDICAL STUDENTS COMPARED
WITH SCALES AS MADE BY LAW AND ENGINEERING STUDENTS; SCALE AS MADE BY LAW STUDENTS
COMPARED WITH SCALE AS MADE BY ENGINEERING STUDENTS.

Unit = 1 sigma, by the Paired Comparison Method.
Lines fitted by minimizing the sums of the squares of the normals.

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tive seriousness of 19 crimes (2). The resulting scale showed vagrancy as the least serious and rape as the most serious with a sigma range of 3.28. Peterson and Thurstone (4—p. 56) tested attitudes of 240 school children at Mendota, Illinois, toward the seriousness of 13 crimes and obtained a scale with a range of 3.04 sigmas.

(c) It was thought also that the present study might give some objective data on the theories of Bogardus and Wilkinson on occupational distance, and on Shideler's concept of the social distance margin. Bogardus defines occupational distance as "the degree of sympathetic understanding existing between members of any two occupations" (6—p. 73). It may well be questioned whether or not sympathetic understanding can be revealed by one or two attitudes, but the scales of prestige here presented do indicate that these three groups differ greatly in their judgments of the prestige of each other's profession. Although the Law and Engineering groups give each other the rank of 9, the Law group rates *Engineer* considerably lower on the scale than the Engineering group rates *Lawyer*.[7] The Medical group rates both of the others relatively far down on the scale.

Shideler's concept of the social distance margin (8) means the difference in attitude which groups or individuals have toward each other. Our Medical group places *Lawyer* at 3.53 sigma, and the Law group places *Physician* at .41 sigma on their respective scales. By analogy with

[7] The term *Electrical Engineer* was used on the schedule instead of *Engineer* or *Technical Engineer* because the preliminary study indicated that non-Engineering students were more sure of the meaning of that term than they were of any other. When the Engineering group was tested instructions were given to disregard the word *Electrical* and to consider all types of technical engineers as having the same prestige for purposes of this study.

Shideler's terminology these values are "social distance factors" and the social distance margin would be $3.53 - .41 = 3.12$ sigma, or degrees of "intimacy reserve" held by the Medical group.

FURTHER OBSERVATIONS

The distances or spaces on the scales (Chart 1) constitute one of their most interesting attributes. If any group judged all professions as having equal prestige, then all professions would have about equal scale values and would concentrate about one point on the scale of that group. This would mean a very short scale and also that in this group there was little or no feeling either for or against any of the twenty. Spaces on the scales represent group bias, group prejudice, group intolerance,—a well defined affect about the psychological object concerned, and since a strong group prejudice is equivalent to a high degree of unanimity of attitude in the group (in that respect) we may say that a wide distance on the scale indicates *group solidarity*. This is indicated also by the fact that of all the instances in which *their own* profession was compared with some other profession, Medical students preferred their own in 98 per cent of the instances, Law students 91.5 per cent, and Engineering students 86.3 per cent of the time.

The Medical group's scale is therefore objective evidence that the Medical group manifests a high degree of professional solidarity, and to the extent that the scales of the other groups reveal like properties, to that extent do these groups possess professional solidarity. The latter groups evidently are much less sure of themselves; they have less in-group orientation of attitude—less group consciousness and group loyalty.

The results show other interesting data which are particularly evident on Chart 1.

Osteopath is not only the least well thought of by all groups, but it is placed at considerable distance from the next above it on all scales. There appears to be no way of explaining why the Law group thinks so little of *Nurse*. One interesting fact is plainly evident: the medical group reserves the first five positions for its own complex or related professions, for there is evidence to show that the Medical students interpreted *Research Scientist (Natural Sciences)* as representing the biological, medical and chemical sciences rather than the physical sciences,—the opposite of the Engineering group. And it is reasonable to suppose that all groups interpreted *College Professor* in terms of their own faculty. *Naval Officer* is in all instances rated considerably above *Army Officer*. The Law and Engineering groups rank each other ninth, but these ranks do not have the same relative value, the Law group placing the *Engineer* lower than the Engineering group places *Lawyer*. This illustrates one of the chief differences between the present method and ordinary rank-order methods, for rank-order alone frequently tells less than the whole story. The Medical and Engineering groups see little difference in the prestige of the natural scientist and professor, but the Law group sees considerable difference, while all groups are agreed that the status of the social scientist is considerably below that of the natural scientist. The Medical and Law groups look upon the architect and the social scientist as having about equal prestige, but the Engineers rate the architect much higher. All these groups show a tendency to cluster various professions about certain points on the scales, which means that these professions are not clearly differentiated in the minds of the groups so far as prestige is concerned. On all three scales *Clergyman* and *Accountant* are contiguous.

Chart 2 helps to give one a visual concept of the relative prestige values given to certain types of professions. The same data which appear on Chart 1 are here presented in correlation charts, and the scales are here also in terms of sigma. Each dot represents the correlated prestige values of one profession. Those dots appearing beneath the line represent professions given relatively greater prestige values by the group whose scale appears on the X axis, and the dots above the line indicate the professions which were judged to have relatively greater prestige by the group whose scale appears on the Y axis. Dots appearing on, or close to, the lines represent professions upon whose prestige the two groups are relatively well agreed.

Thus the figure on which the scale values of the Medical group are plotted against those of the Law group indicates that the former group shows relatively higher regard for the professions related to Medicine, namely, *Nurse*, *Dentist*, *Osteopath*, with a definite preference also for *Engineer*. There is also a tendency for Medical students to favor the two military professions and *Teacher*, *Musician*, and *Actor*. The Law group seems to manifest relatively high esteem, as compared with the Medical group, for *Professor*, *Social Scientist*, *Accountant*, and *Clergyman*. The two groups are relatively well agreed on their concepts of *Natural Scientist*, *Journalist*, *Social Worker*, and *Artist*.

When the scale values of the Medical group are plotted against those of the Engineering group the preferences fall more clearly into types. Again the Medical group esteems its related professions most, but also *Lawyer*, *Journalist*, *Social Worker*, and the three aesthetic professions—*Artist*, *Actor*, and *Musician*. The Engineers seem to prefer *Architect*, a pro-

fession closely related to their own, as well as *Professor*, the military professions, and *Natural Scientist*. The two groups feel much the same about *Teacher*, *Social Scientist*, and *Accountant*. It is interesting that the Medical group thinks better of *Engineer* than does the Law group, and better of *Lawyer* than does the Engineering group. This is probably due to a traditional (more or less good natured) feud between the Law and Engineering schools at Wisconsin. The buildings are opposite each other on the campus—within throw-ing distance—and the school year is frequently enlivened by activities of the two groups.

On Chart 1 it is seen that *Osteopath* appears at the bottom of all scales. But it is evident from Chart 2 that while *Osteopath* is at the foot of all three scales, yet the Medical group gives that profession relatively greater prestige than does either the Law or Engineering groups. This is probably explained by the fact that Osteopathy is within the complex of professions related to Medicine.

FACE SHEET OF SCHEDULE
A Study in Occupational Status

Do not give your name, but please give the following information about yourself. (Mark X in the appropriate place.)

Male.......... Female.......... Catholic.......... Jewish.......... Protestant..........
Population of your home town or of the communities where you have usually lived: Under 10,000..........;
10,000–50,000...........; 50,000–100,000..........; over 100,000.......... What occupation do you intend to follow as your life work?..............

....Parent's Occupation?..

This is not a test—there are no "correct" answers. This is a study designed to measure people's attitudes toward certain occupations. Below are listed a series of occupations arranged in pairs. You are to *underline* the one occupation in each pair which you consider the more honorable, the more admirable, or the more worthy or prestige—the one in each pair which you, personally, hold in greater respect or esteem. Judge by your own feelings in each case. If in some instances you are unable to decide, just make a guess, *but do not skip any pair*. Be sure to underline one occupation in each pair, even if you have to guess.

Example: Journalist—Architect

If you respect, admire or esteem a journalist more than an architect underline *journalist;* but if you respect, admire or esteem an architect more than a journalist, then underline *architect*.

Dentist—Naval Officer

Architect—Clergyman

Elec. Engineer—Artist (Painter)

Journalist—Accountant (C P A)

Concert Musician—Clergyman

Army Officer—Naval Officer

Journalist—College Professor

Clergyman—Public Sch. Teacher

Physician—Osteopath

Research Scientist—Lawyer
(Natural Sciences)

Artist (Painter)—Concert Musician

Social Worker—Dentist

Naval Officer—Pub. Sch. Teacher

Journalist—Actor

Research Scientist—Social Worker
(Social Sciences)

Lawyer—Army Officer

Journalist—Social Worker

TOWARDS A REHABILITATION QUOTIENT FOR PENAL OFFENDERS

JEROME DAVIS

Yale University

IF SOME device could be devised for predicting which prisoners or jail inmates were most likely to succeed on parole it would be of incalculable value. At present no scientific tests are available, and so wardens and parole boards are apt to make decisions in the light of superficial evidence. Furthermore, the jails of the United States where such a large proportion of first offenders are confined are largely in the hands of politicians who have neither the time nor the inclination to determine scientifically which men should be released.

It is not strange, therefore, that in this scientific age, penologists have begun to experiment with scientific devices to ascertain the individuals who are most likely to make a success of parole. These scales are not unlike the intelligence quotients which are used to determine the mental caliber of individuals. The rehabilitation quotient in the field of penology would be similar to the actuarial rate in the insurance field. The latter has proved extremely accurate and valuable. By examining an individual and finding out his physical condition, insurance companies can predict his life span. Similarly it should be possible by examining all the data regarding an individual in prison to determine his relative chances of becoming a normal citizen again on release.

There have been a number of significant attempts to construct scales of predictability for delinquents. The study by Prof. E. W. Burgess of Paroles from Certain Prisons and Reformatories in Illinois in 1929 is one of the most important. His methods are now being tried out in that state. Another study of consequence is that by Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck of *500 Criminal Careers* taken from the records of the Massachusetts Reformatory in 1921 and 1922. They were fortunate in having, in the case of over 90 per cent of the men, information covering a five year post-parole period. They felt the following factors were significant:

I. Pre-reformatory factors
    1. Seriousness and frequency of crime
    1. Seriousness and frequency of crime.
    2. Arrest for crime preceding the offense for which sentence to the reformatory was imposed.
    3. Penal experience preceding reformatory.
    4. Industrial habits.
    5. Economic responsibility.
    6. Mental abnormality.

II. Reformatory factors
    7. Frequency factors of offenses in the reformatory.

III. Parole factors
    8. Criminal conduct during parole.

IV. Post-parole factors
    9. Industrial habits.
    10. Economic responsibility.
    11. Family relationship.
    12. Types of home.
    13. Use of leisure.

Dr. George B. Vold made a study of the inmates paroled from the Minnesota State Reformatory for the five year period 1922 to 1927. Tibbetts, Monachesi, Van Vechten, and others have also worked on this problem. No one has attempted, so far as the writer is aware, to make a study of those confined in the jails of the United States and to attempt to predict from known factors their probabilities of success or failure on release. The difficulty with previous attempts in studying success or failure in parole has been that in the

first place they have taken into account only those who are paroled; in the second place they have not allowed a long enough time interval to make sure that the individual concerned has permanently become successful, in the third place many of the factors ranked are unreliable, either from the standpoint of not having enough data, or in difficulty of classification. In the study made by Tibbetts he declares, "In all of the existing studies of parole there is reason to suspect that considerable overlapping, if not duplication, exists among factors."

Recently the writer made a study of the jail population of Connecticut to determine the organization program and administration of a proposed central state rehabilitation center for jail prisoners. With this purpose in view, a four-fold case study of the jail population was made covering the physical, psychological, psychiatric, and social conditions. Since funds were granted by the Federal government for a period of two months only at the start, the investigation had to be made at a high speed and could not be as complete as would otherwise have been desired. Later the time limit was extended but the survey was handicapped from the start by inadequate personnel and a constant rush to finish the work quickly to meet the conditions imposed by the government. Requirements of the NRA were such that only needy individuals seeking employment could be used in making the study. All who were employed were well educated and adaptable but of necessity some were without sufficient training in this type of work. The margin of error is, therefore, in all probability greater than would otherwise have been the case.

An additional handicap was the fact that there is a very high turnover in the jails of the state. It was intended to take a cross section of all inmates who were in jail on December 26, sentenced for thirty days or more and whose sentences did not expire before January 25, together with all those admitted from December 26 to January 25, who were sentenced for thirty days or more. A total of 636 men and 39 women prisoners met these conditions. Some of these individuals were released before adequate studies could be concluded. Of the total, we made case histories of 568 men and 24 women. We were able to make medical histories of 426, and psychological studies of 484. In the case of the psychiatric examinations, the study covered those cases where such examinations were indicated.

The total number of first offenders was found to be 108, or 19 per cent, of those for whom case studies were made. No one was included as a first offender if any record whatever could be found of his having been arrested or having served a previous sentence anywhere.

One of the byproducts of the study in Connecticut was to see if a rehabilitation quotient for penal offenders could be worked out. Data which might have a bearing on such a rehabilitation quotient were secured about the following factors:

COMMUNITY
    1. City over 25,000
    2. City under 25,000
    3. Farm   Open country
    4. No information
CRIMINALITY
    5. Age at first arrest
    6. Number of times arrested
    7. Rate per year (last five years)
          (1)
          (2)
          (3)
          (4)
          (5)
    8. Total time spent in penal institutions
    9. Criminality in the parental family (number of separate individuals)
    10. Criminality in subject's own family (number of separate individuals)

11. Never before committed to an institution
12. No information

EDUCATION

13. Illiterate (no other information)
14. Age on leaving school
15. Grade reached
16. Truancy
17. School report. Good, Fair, Poor.
18. No information

FAMILY *Parental*

19. Broken home
20. Mother working
21. Reared in institutions
22. Aid from charitable institutions
23. Parents own their own home
24. Living with parents
25. Living with relatives
26. Living with others
27. No information
    Subject's
28. Married—Single—Separated
29. Aid from charitable institutions
30. Subject owns own home
31. Living with wife and children
32. Living in relative's home
33. Living with others
34. No information

INDUSTRIAL

35. Previous record: Very good, Good, Poor, Very
    poor.
36. Trade. Professional, Student, Business, Cleri-
    cal, Farmer, Skilled, Semi-skilled, Unskilled
37. Contributions to a family income
    a. Parents   None, occasional, regular
    b. Subject   None, occasional, regular
38. Regularly employed prior to depression (1930)
    (Nine months per year or over—equivalent
    of)
39. Irregularly employed prior to depression (1930)
    (Under nine months per year—equivalent of)
40. Time employed previous to arrest (From long
    term regular employment)
41. No information

PERSONALITY

42. Marked psychosis
43. Emotional instability
44. No information

MEDICAL

45. Venereal disease
46. Other major physical disabilities (Specify)
47. Alcoholism
    a. Occasional
    b. Chronic
    c. Physical or mental deterioration present

48. Drug addiction
    a. Occasional
    b. Chronic
    c. Physical or mental deterioration present

INSTITUTIONAL RECORD

50. Good
51. Fair
52. Poor
53. No information

In addition information was secured about the following facts: race, church attendance, environmental influences, associates, and the economic status of the parents.

The average of the present jail population for each item was calculated, then the average for the repeaters was ascertained. This was then compared with the record of the first offenders for the same items. It seems possible that the factors which made for little or no criminal difficulty in the past might also make for success in the future.

The standard error of deviation was calculated contrasting the first offenders with the average for the total population. The items in which there was the greatest amount of deviation between the first offenders and the general jail population are given in Table I. In this table it will be noted that the following factors are among the most significant: age at first arrest, alcoholism, school record, work record, character of recreation, associates, environmental influences, the character of the first known offense, and the economic status of the subject. Of course there are other important items which must be taken into account in attempting a rehabilitation quotient, such as: the times arrested, the time spent in penal institutions, the education of the subject, church attendance, as well as many other factors.

Besides making an investigation of the first offenders and the repeaters in the jail, we made an investigation of 50 men in the general population. These were se-

TABLE I
Standard Error of Deviation

SUBJECT	STANDARD ERROR OF DEVIATION
Age at first arrest:	
16 or less	9.80
17 to 20	2.37
Alcoholism:	
Chronic	7.81
None	5.78
Reason for leaving work:	
2. (alcoholism and drug addiction)	5.75
3. (inefficiency, undependability, dis-	
honesty	2.83
7. (slack work, strike, lay-off)	2.75
9. (not applicable—"drifter, loafer")	2.52
11. (other)	2.74
Work record:	
Good	5.26
Poor	5.41
Recreation:	
Negative	4.23
Harmful	5.28
Associates:	
Negative	3.76
Harmful	4.87
Environmental influences—adult:	
Good	3.67
Fair	2.37
Poor	5.63
Reason for leaving school:	
3. (committed to reform school)	3.33
7. (never attended school after coming	
to U. S)	3.33
Race and nativity of subject:	
Luthuanian	3.02
Environmental influences:	
Urban-Adult:	
Good	2.96
Poor	5.99
Urban-Crime:	
Good	2.67
Poor	4.64
Environmental influences:	
Crime:	
Good	2.90
Poor	4.11
Environmental influences:	
Early:	
Good	2.63
Poor	2.71
Voting:	
Non-voters	2.52
Under age	2.07

TABLE I—Continued

SUBJECT	STANDARD ERROR OF DEVIATION
Church affiliation:	
Roman Catholic	2.39
Protestant	1.96
First known offense:	
Property	2.36
Person:	
Assault	2.71
Sex	2.64
Public order	5.16
Juvenile	5.54
Environmental Influence (Urban or Rural):	
Early:	
Urban	2.32
Rural	2.18
Length of Parents' Residence in United States:	
1–5 years (father)	2.25
11–15 years (father)	2.25
Present offense:	
Person-sex	2.21
Public order	2.42
Occupation of subject:	
Semi-skilled	2.20
Personal service	2.54
None	2.25
School record:	
Good	2.18
Poor	2.29
Nativity of Parents:	
Luthuanian—father	2.18
mother	2.10
German—father	2.61
mother	2.50
Economic status of subject:	
Comfortable	2.15
Marginal	3.47
Dependent	4.99
Size of family:	
Four-plus	2.14
Environmental influences: (quality)	
Urban:	
Good	2.11
Poor	3.93
Sentence—First known offense:	
31 days–6 months	2.07
Home situation of parents:	2.06
Environmental influences: (urban or rural)	
Adult:	
Urban	2.01
Rural	2.18

TABLE 1—*Concluded*

SUBJECT	STANDARD ERROR OF DEVIATION
Citizenship of subject:	
Lithuanian	2.00
Citizenship of Parents:	
German:	
Father	2.00
Mother	2.00
Lithuanian:	
Father	2.18
Mother	2.03
Occupation of Parents:	
Agriculture	1.96
Public service	6.18
No legal occupation	2.00

lected very carefully from those who were members or attendants at the New Haven Y. M. C. A. An attempt was made to secure as representative a group of men as possible and a group which would be fairly comparable in age to the jail survey group. It was thought that differences which were marked between first offenders and repeaters might be still more marked if one took a sample of the general population which had never been delinquent at all. The results indicated this to be true. It must be recognized that comparing 50 non-delinquents with 568 delinquents may not be a fair test, but the data are at least suggestive.

Let us consider some of the more important facts that were brought out. Consider, for instance, the matter of church attendance. Only 16 per cent of the repeaters were regular church attendants but 25.9 per cent of the first offenders and 40 per cent of the Y. M. C. A. group fell into this category. The ratios of non-church attendance according to their own statement are somewhat reversed, 48 per cent of the repeaters falling in this category, 37.1 per cent of the first offenders, and only 23 per cent of the non-delinquent group.

In the matter of early environmental influences, up to the age of 17, 14 per cent of the repeaters had a good environment, 29.6 per cent of the first offenders, and 48 per cent of the Y. M. C. A. group. On the other hand, 41 per cent of the repeaters came from a poor environment, against 25.9 per cent of the first offenders, and 12 per cent of the third group.

Only .4 of one per cent of the repeaters were surrounded by good environmental influences during adult life; 23.2 per cent of the first offenders fell in this category, and 84 per cent of the non-delinquents. It is interesting that there were only slight differences in the matter of broken homes, about one-third of each group falling into this category.

There were striking differences, as might be expected, in the matter of drinking. Only 4 per cent of the non-delinquents were constant drinkers and 11 per cent of the first offenders but 40 per cent of the repeaters. In the case of the non-delinquents and the first offenders almost none of them had lost work because of alcohol, whereas 72 of the repeaters had lost work because of drinking. Fifty-four per cent of the non-delinquents had a good work record, 50 per cent of the first offenders, and only 16 per cent of the repeaters. On the other hand there was only one non-delinquent who had a poor work record, and the percentage of the repeaters was almost twice as great as for first offenders.

In the matter of recreation, 76 per cent of the repeaters indulged in distinctly harmful recreation as against 42 per cent of the first offenders and 2 per cent of the Y. M. C. A. group.

As might be expected there was a striking difference between the school records. Only 6 per cent of the repeaters had good school records against 16.7 per cent of the first offenders and 62 per cent of the non-delinquents. In other words, the record

of the first offenders was nearly three times as good as that of the repeaters, and the record of the non-delinquents was over three times as good as that of the first offenders. Poor school records were held by 25.6 per cent of the repeaters, while only 14.8 per cent of the first offenders had poor records; and there was only one case of a poor school record in the case of the Y. M. C. A. group, the rest of the cases falling, of course, into the fair school record group.

As one would naturally expect the economic status of the parents is lowest in the case of recidivists. Only 10 per cent of their parents lived in comfortable circumstances, whereas roughly 18 per cent of the first offenders had this advantage, and 62 per cent of the Y. M. C. A. group.

It is not my intention to affirm that the differences between the first offenders and the Y. M. C. A. group have any necessary connection with the absence of criminality in the latter. Nevertheless, it is significant that the differences between the repeaters and first offenders on the one hand and the first offenders and the Y. M. C. A. group on the other all go in the same direction. It would seem to indicate that we might get an index of the factors which are correlated with non-criminality and another set of factors which are correlated with criminality. The more favorable factors the individual has, the more probability that he might make good on parole. The less favorable factors he has would indicate the less probability of making good on parole. We intend to prepare a table of factors from which a rehabilitation quotient can be prepared. These will probably only include items where the difference between first offenders, repeaters, and the control group are most marked. It is then proposed to check first offenders in the jails of Connecticut to see how far the rehabilitation quotient is accurate. If this were checked over a five-year period we believe it would be a reasonably accurate test.

In Illinois interesting pioneer work on parole prediction has been done through the stimulus of Dr. Burgess and his students. They have calculated the average violation rate for each item in a long list. Deviations of 5 per cent from the average violation rate are considered significant. Consequently if an item is 5 per cent below the average violation rate it is considered favorable; if 5 per cent above the violation rate it is considered unfavorable. If the deviation was much greater than 5 per cent it was, nevertheless, given no greater weighting. Deviations of less than 5 per cent from the average were not taken into account.

While the work that has been done in Illinois is still preliminary, apparently the following factors have been found significant. It seems rather doubtful whether these items as they are ranked would necessarily be true in other states and in other localities. For instance the Irish nationality is considered "unfavorable," but it is questionable whether this would hold true in Connecticut, for example.

The use of this method in Illinois has apparently been of great value to the Parole and Pardon Boards. It seems probable that gradually over the years we will be able to find certain social factors which are correlated with criminality, and certain other factors which are correlated with non-criminality. Each criminal will have a different combination of these factors, but a rehabilitation quotient would be a shorthand method of determining the possibilities of the individual's being able to resume his place in society satisfactorily.

TABLE II

Factors Regarded as Significant in Parol Prediction

	SIGNIFICANTLY FAVORABLE	SIGNIFICANTLY UNFAVORABLE
Offense	Robbery	Burglary
Plea (instead of "As charged" or "No plea")	Two lesser charges More than two lesser charges	
Sentence	1–2 years 2–15 years 3–20 years 10–life 2 or more s'tces All flat s'tces	1–3 years 1–5 years 5–20 years 1–life
Previous Criminal Record	None	Industrial School Jail Reformatory Penitentiary
Criminal Type	First offender	Habitual or Professional Criminal
Associates	One or more	None
Prosecutor's Statement	Recommendation	
Time served	11 mo.–1 year Over 5 years	3–4 years 4–5 years
Age	17 years 18 years	
Nationality	British Czech Greek Italian Jewish Jugo-Slav Lithuanian Mexican Scandinavian Others	American colored Austrian French-Canadian Hungarian Irish Slovak
Working when arrested	No record	
Previous work record	No record Irregular Regular School	Never
Institutional Assignment	Clerks (Office-Library) R. & D.; West Front Capt. office; Hydro Help Hospital Officers' Barber Shop Inmates' Barber Shop Physical Cases	Tailor & Print Shops Extra Detail; Hydro; Syph. G.C.
Punishment Record	No demotions No reports 1–2 reports	1–2 demotions Over 2 demotions Over 5 reports
Mobility		Transient
Area	Open country Town Suburban Under 1,000 popl. Residential suburbs	No record No home

TABLE II—*Continued*

	SIGNIFICANTLY FAVORABLE	SIGNIFICANTLY UNFAVORABLE
Neighborhood Type	Residential Suburban Open country	Underworld Delinquent Hobohemia No home Rooming house Negro
Mental Rating	A	D E
Personality	Emotionally unstable Sexual Normal No record	Feeble-minded Psychopath-Egocentric Psychopath-Inadequate Neuropathics & Psychopathics Alcoholic Defective Delinquent Constitutionally Inferior
Psychiatric Prognosis	Favorable	Close supervision or Doubtful Unfavorable Further supervision Transfer No examination Recommend Max. X
Social Type	Gangster Farm Boy Criminal by Accident	Hobo Ne'er-do-well Dope Institutional

It goes without saying that the rehabilitation quotient would have its dangers just as the intelligence quotient has had. Wardens might rely too much on it. The rehabilitation quotient would be but one of many factors which would have to be taken into consideration by a pardon board. In considering parole, moreover, a great deal depends upon the skill and capability of the parole officer himself. It seems quite possible that a man with a high rehabilitation quotient placed with an inefficient parole officer would have less chance than an individual with a low rehabilitation quotient placed with a very expert and capable parole officer.

In spite of these limitations which must be recognized, every one interested in delinquency should support all possible scientific research along these lines. It should be possible in the near future to prove whether or not the facts warrant the establishment of a rehabilitation quotient.

PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

A STUDY OF THE CONTENT OF SOCIAL CASE WORK*

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SOCIAL case work is not a profession nor a science but a method through which we seek to discover, understand, and treat human need. According to an accepted definition, it "deals with the human being whose capacity to organize his own normal social activities may be impaired by one or more deviations from the accepted standards of normal social life."[1]

Because other sciences and professions are likewise concerned with personal adjustment to environment, the use of formulated experiences of the sciences and professions is an important aspect of social case work. This use has been one of expediency in appropriation and absorption rather than any logical adaptation or application. The explanation of this situation is no doubt due to the fact that the essential method of social case work, which is the particularization of the individual, had its inception in many sources and social case work has only recently begun to articulate and define its content and processes. Mary Richmond's *Social Diagnosis*, a masterly beginning to a scientific approach, was accepted as the finished

word from the time of its publication in 1917 until some of its concepts were challenged in 1930 by Virginia Robinson.[2]

The curriculum committee of the American Association of Schools of Social Work, as well as the faculties of the individual schools concerned, have been interested in the content of case work. Social workers and teachers of case work acknowledge the debt to the older disciplines and professions and now are attempting to define these contributions.[3] One of the most recent and analytical of such attempts has been that of the New York School of Social Work which has as one of the sections in its teaching syllabus a classification of "Formulated Knowledge used in Social Case Work," arranged in two groups. (1) "Formulated knowledge represented by the professions including Law, Medicine, Education, Psychiatry, Organized Religion; and (2) Formulated knowledge organized in sciences not represented by specific professions, including Biology, Psychology, Anthropology, Ethnology, Economics, Sociology, Social Work."[4]

Under each profession or science is a

[1] Milford Conference Report, *Social Case work; Generic and Specific.* American Association of Social Workers. New York. 1929. p. 16.

[2] Virginia P. Robinson, *A Changing Psychology in Social Case Work.* University of North Carolina Press, 1930.

[3] Maurice Karpf, *The Scientific Basis of Case Work.* Columbia University Press, 1931.

[4] Cannon & Klein, *Social Case Work.* Columbia University Press, 1933.

list of the phases of that science which are pertinent to the practice of social case work. While no attempt is made in their analysis to show what the contribution of the profession of sciences has been, their classification is inclusive and suggestive.[5]

The adaptations that seem to have been made by social case workers have been of four kinds. (1) *Terminology* as seen in the addition to the social case worker's vocabulary of such terms as "diagnosis," "treatment," "therapy," "work relief," "direct relief," "client," and "social evidence." It is in the adoption of terminology with its imperfect analogies that we see the undefined content of social case work most clearly. The assimilation has been so faulty as to explain the confusion now existing in social case work. (2) *Concepts* such as "a living wage," "standards of living," and "minimum budgets." The contributions represented by concepts are far more important than the acquisition of a vocabulary which at times verges dangerously near a jargon. For example, the value of the term "symptomatic behavior" lies not in the terminology but in the implied concept in medicine of regarding disease in terms of the reaction of a certain germ or lesion upon an individual, instead of as an entity in itself. (3) *Material Resources* such as clinics, hospitals, churches, courts, Legal Aid Societies, Employment Agencies, Bureaus of Working Men's Compensation, various provisions for social security and Departments of Vital Statistics. These are the most tangible of the contributions of the professions and sciences. Their existence and use are so familiar to the practice of social case work that they are accepted as facilities which serve the social case worker rather than contributions of an established profession or science to the method of case work. (4)

[5] *Ibid.*

Methodology such as the case history, the interview, the clinical method used in Child Guidance Clinics and the collection and interpretation of factual material. While professions and sciences have developed to their present state largely because of researches in their respective fields, social case work is slowly working back in an attempt to discover its composition and appraise its materials. It is a paradox that while methodology furnishes the most valuable contribution and the only scientific one to the evolution of social case work, it is the one least used except when applied to the individual case where it takes the form of a study of the individual and his reaction to his environment, an analysis and interpretation of these data and the treatment predicated upon the foregoing.

The literature on the interdependence of the various professions and sciences is fragmentary. Most of the material is to be found in periodicals. A valuable contribution was the reporting of the sessions of the American Sociological Society on the relationship between sociology and social work.[6] A welcome and needed addition to the literature has been the series of published lectures of the New York School of Social Work including Hewes, *The Contribution of Economics to Social Work*,[7] Niebuhr, *The Contribution of Religion to Social Work*,[8] Bradway, *The Law and Social Work*,[9] MacIver, *The Contribution of Sociology to Social Work*.[10] Lee and Kenworthy on *Mental Hygiene and Social*

[6] "Sociology and Social Work." *Social Forces*, Vol. VI, No. 4, June, 1928.

[7] Amy Hewes, *The Contribution of Economics to Social Work*. Columbia University Press, 1930.

[8] Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Contribution of Religion to Social Work*. Columbia University Press, 1932.

[9] John Bradway, *The Law and Social Work*. University of Chicago Press, 1929.

[10] Robert MacIver, *The Contribution of Sociology to Social Work*. Columbia University Press, 1923.

Work[11] and Cabot, *Social Service and the Art of Healing*[12] were two earlier publications which have been valuable to the social case worker.

While there is an agreement by teachers and professional workers that case work practice depends to a great extent upon adaptations of knowledge, there is no agreement as to how that knowledge is to be acquired. The question of the content of pre-professional training for social work has long been a controversial one. The adherents of a broad cultural base upon which to build a graduate curriculum cite the Liberal Arts requirements before specialization in such professions as the Law or the Ministry. Proponents of a prescribed pre-professional education point out the natural science requirements for entrance into medical and engineering schools. The American Association of Social Workers apparently has accepted the premise that the profession of social work is based upon a background of social and biological sciences judging from their junior membership requirement of 30 quarter credits in such courses as compared with 36 quarter credits in technical social work courses and 15 quarter credits in field work.

Professor Steiner, writing ten years ago, predicted a current trend when he said, "Within recent years a strong effort has been made to build the curricula of schools of social work on the foundation of scientific studies. It is apparent that as long as students are permitted to plunge into technical courses of social work without careful study of the sciences that deal with the social order it is impossible to bring these courses up to the standards required by the other professions. Any

effort to contrive to find the proper basis of education and practical experience simply harks back to the early beginnings of professional education in other fields when short cuts to efficiency were the accepted procedure." He considers undergraduate courses in sociology, economics, political science, psychology, and biology as minimum requirements. "It is difficult to see how anything else could give the student a scientific equipment comparable to that which is expected of a student entering a medical school."[13]

The extent to which Steiner's views are shared by schools preparing students for social work varies from extensive specified requirements in social and biological sciences in certain schools affiliated with universities or colleges and offering pre-professional sequences, to the absence of any such specifications for the applicant to certain of the graduate schools of social work.

In a discussion of requirements for admission of schools of social work Miss Brown says,

One of the chief stumbling blocks in the path of any education for social work which is well rooted in a scientific background has been the hesitancy of the schools in requiring that their students should have had any prescribed amounts of sociology, psychology, economics, political science, anthropology, and biology. This lack of insistence has been one of the results of the youthfulness of professional training. In the days when schools had difficulty in attracting many students, it seemed inadvisable for them to set up standards which would eliminate many applicants. It is difficult to conceive, however, of a course in social work training which can be broad in scope and scientific in nature unless its foundations are laid in the social and biological sciences which must form much of the basis of social work. Moreover, it is equally hard to imagine how the student can acquire adequate preparation in those schools which have built upon this subject material, unless he brings a rich undergraduate experience with him. Most schools are now aware of the existence of these two

[11] Lee and Kenworthy, *Mental Hygiene and Social Work*. Commonwealth Fund, 1929.

[12] Richard Cabot, *Social Service and the Art of Healing*. Dodd, Mead, 1928.

[13] Jesse F. Steiner, *Community Organization*. The Century Company, 1925, p. 379.

problems. Of the degree of success which they have had in solving the former one, the author cannot speak, but it is certain that they have made marked improvements during the past five years in requiring more preliminary instruction. As yet, however, there is no rigid emphasis upon the scientific studies comparable to that of pre-medical requirements.[14]

The selection of subject matter which the student has been expected to have assimilated complicates further our present confused state of a lack of definite content in social case work. The idea of the value of previous courses is based on varied and individual experiences. Just how varied and individual such experiences are, needs no evidence to any faculty member who has served on a curriculum committee. The instructor who failed biology thinks botany can give the student an adequate idea of the genetic theory. The instructor who thought Industrial Relations "the best course" he ever had is sure the economic requirements are the most important, etc.

At the University of Minnesota a study was undertaken of the content of case work. One phase of this study attempted to secure from students engaged in case work practice the extent to which they used the formulated knowledge of other professions and sciences in such practice. The data secured in 1933–34 covered 762 social case work assignments undertaken by 54 students in the routine of their field work. In these assignments the students listed 4,402 contributions involved in the processes of carrying out the assignments.

The method was the use of a schedule in which the students were asked to analyze their assignments and record which fields of knowledge had been used in the execution of the assignment and the way such knowledge had been acquired. The stu-

[14] Esther Lucile Brown, *Social Work as a Profession.* Russell Sage Foundation. New York, 1935, p. 34.

dents were given explicit written instructions as follows: (1) Use a separate sheet for each assignment. (2) Record the assignment and its purpose as briefly as possible on the space provided below *before* undertaking it. State briefly and specifically the task assigned, such as, "Visit to Mr. S., former employer of Mr. Y., for work record," or a "First visit to Mrs. P., applicant for relief," or "Visit to Mrs. M., a sister to Mrs. P., for coöperation and insight." (3) After each assignment has been completed, analyze your notes, decide what fields of knowledge were tapped in your handling of the assignment. Then check in the column parallel to the "Fields of Knowledge" the place of acquisition of such knowledge. It is recognized that it may not have been possible to carry out the original assignment in the interview.

The fields of knowledge indicated on the schedule were Anthropology, Biology, Economics, Education, History, Home Economics, Law, Medicine and Public Health, Philosophy, Political Science, Psychiatry, Sociology, Social Psychology, Social Research, Social Work, and Nursing.

Table I is a composite one which shows the judgments of 54 students of the areas of knowledge drawn upon, arranged in order of greatest frequency of occurrence, and also the relative rank of each area under three categorical sources.

As is apparent in the table, Social Work holds first place with a total of 404 judgments as an area of specialized knowledge. This probably is accounted for on the psychological grounds of recency, because class courses in social work were being taken concurrently with field work. Psychology, Medicine including Public Health, and Sociology, which follow in order as given were the only other sciences or professions which appeared with any appreciable frequency. Psychiatry, Social

Psychology, Education, Home Economics, and Economics were next in order but were used in less than one hundred judgments. Biology, Law, Political Science, History, Social Research, and Philosophy figured in less than one per cent of the judgments. Anthropology and Nursing did not figure at all.

A consideration of the students' judgments of the source of the information used reveals some very consistent trends.

peculiar to Minnesota is difficult to say. Only a study of the field work training of several schools would reveal such facts.

However, it is interesting to note that Political Science, History, Social Research, Philosophy, Anthropology, and Nursing are consistently low in the opinion of the students as a source of contributing knowledge. Sociology, Psychiatry, and Social Psychology preserve their relative positions. In the students' opinions a

TABLE I

JUDGMENTS OF 54 STUDENTS OF THE AREAS OF KNOWLEDGE ARRANGED IN ORDER OF GREATEST FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE AND ACCORDING TO SOURCE OF ACQUISITION USED IN 4,402 FIELD WORK PROCESSES

	NUMBER OF PROCESSES	PER CENT	SOURCE OF ACQUISITION ACCORDING TO RANK ORDER		
			General Information	Field Guide	Formal Course
Social Work	404	9.17	1	1	2
Psychology	247	5.61	4	2	8
Med.-Pub. Health	232	5.27	3	4	1
Sociology	171	3.88	8	6	10
Psychiatry	92	2.08	9	5	5
Social Psychology	69	1.56	10	10	12
Education	65	1.47	6	9	3
Home Economics	64	1.45	2	8	4
Economics	60	1.36	5	7	9
Biology	44	0.99	12	13	11
Law	35	0.79	7	3	7
Others	31	0.70	16	14	14
Political Science	16	0.36	14	15	15
History	13	0.29	13	16	13
Social Research	11	0.24	15	12	16
Philosophy	4	0.09	11	11	6
Anthropology	0	0.00	0	0	0
Nursing	0	0.00	0	0	0

Social work maintains approximately the same rank under all three sources, as do, for example, Social Psychology, Biology, and Political Science. Psychology used in field work is gleaned seemingly from the field guide rather than in formal courses. Medicine on the other hand is acquired in formal courses. In the opinion of the judges, Home Economics is a matter of general information. How much the entire judgments are conditioned by factors

general knowledge of Philosophy served in 57 processes. Biology, History, Political Science, Social Research, Anthropology, and Nursing, acquired from general knowledge, appeared in less than one per cent of the processes.

The limitations of procedure in this study are manifest. The fallibility of judgment, the error in recall, and the difficulty of making an exact assignment of a process to its proper category limit

the inferences that may be made. However, a student group, practicing social case work under laboratory conditions, and accustomed to following directions was presumed to be less subject to these limitations than the practicing social worker to whom the processes had become more habitual and the analytical procedure more remote.

Clearly this study does not demonstrate that the formulated knowledge of other disciplines, professions, and sciences is not a valuable and a necessary background for the practice of social case work. It does show, however, that some of our ideas of the importance and necessity of such information have been theoretical and apparently contrary to fact. Faulty as our method is conceded to be, if students were unable to recall while engaged in laboratory practice the source of information in more than 35 per cent of the processes involved in the carrying out of an assignment, it is clear that there has been little integration of the backgrounds of sciences and professions with social case work. This is particularly significant in view of the fact that the Training School in which this experiment was conducted requires elementary Economics, Biology, Political Science, Psychology, and Public Health, and prescribed courses in Sociology and Mental Hygiene. Other social science and biological courses are also strongly recommended by advisers.

The failure of certain fields such as Nursing and Athropology to appear at all in the carrying out of 4,402 processes is interesting particularly when students, given the abstract assignment of "the contribution of Anthropology to Social Case Work" or "the relationship between Public Health Nursing and Social Case Work," have produced extensive analyses of such contributions in the form of term papers.

If the content of social case work depends, even in part, upon the formulated knowledge of the recognized professions and sciences, must we not know what those contributions specifically are? Further research as to the exact nature and functioning of these contributions would open one approach to an understanding and definition of the now vague and inexact method which we call social case work.

The second aspect of our investigation was concerned with the character of the students' experience in the practice of social work, i.e., the nature of their field work. The significance attached to field work in training for social work is attested by its universal appearance in the curricula of schools and social work and further by the high proportion of time allotted to it in the student's program. In some schools, as high as 50 per cent of the student's time is so assigned. Lee and Kenworthy in *Mental Hygiene and Social Work* state that field training is a fundamental part of the curricula of the New York School of Social Work. Quoting, they say, "for the purpose of 'learning to use' the most important part of the curriculum . . . is the field work."[11] Obviously field work provides the realistic medium for the practice of social work. Case illustrations as studied in the class room cannot reproduce actual situations. Neither the numerous considerations that flash into the mind of the worker and client nor the stimuli that prompted their appearance are known in their entirety. In fact we have only the end result; i.e., what was said and done by client and worker. Although case material is highly important as illustrative of the general problems that the social worker encounters, yet it does not tell what to do in a particular situation—and all social case work situations are particular situa-

tions. Hence the student can only learn and test his capacity to assist individuals who are in difficulty by actually doing. The acceptance of field work as essential in training for social work, however, places no small responsibility on schools of social work.

This responsibility demands that we know as exactly as possible the character and range of experiences given the student as well as the extent and quality of the supervision afforded him. Does his field work reflect the best current practices in reference to techniques and procedures? Does it permit the development of the ability to discern in actual situations, facts and concepts studied in the class room? Is it so arranged that he may test the practicability of theories and methods? Is he allowed to experience the most essential aspects of the work of the agency? Is there progression in difficulty from elementary to advanced field work courses? How much consideration does the agency give the student's own plans for a client? How much time is given the student by his supervisor? What is the character and quality of this supervision?

At a glance it is apparent that many of these questions cannot be answered objectively. The very nature of social work prohibits it. The number of interviews undertaken by a student is no clue to their complexity or to the quality of the student's interviewing ability. However, a thoughtful consideration and sorting of the factors implied in each of the foregoing questions would promote the establishment of ways and means for the evaluation of our training method. Something more than incidental impressions of students and supervisors are necessary if any advance in field work training is to be made.

From a check of the reports covering a six months' period for 60 University of Minnesota students (40 beginning and 20 advanced) assigned to Minneapolis and St. Paul case working agencies, it was learned that interviewing the client in his home was experienced by all the students. On the basis of total number of students, the order of experiences from greatest frequency to least for the beginning students was as follows: interviewing clients, relatives, school authorities, landlords, and employers. Clerical duties and the consultation of civil documents were next in order. Contacts with doctors, hospitals, dispensaries, courts, and churches were experienced by 10 or only 25 per cent of the group. The range of persons and institutions contacted by the advanced students (i.e., students who have already had two quarters of field work) was practically the same.

However, contacts with schools and clerical duties follow in frequency the students' contacts with clients. Consultations with relatives, doctors, and churches were experienced by only 50 per cent of the students. All other persons and community sources were contacted by less than 50 per cent of the group. It is interesting to note that 75 per cent or more of the beginning students and only 10 per cent of the advanced students interviewed employers. Approximately the same proportions were maintained as far as the clients' relatives were concerned. These differences may be due to the type of agency in which the students were employed or they may be the result of certain policies of treatment to which the agencies adhered. Family and public relief agencies constitute the type of agency to which beginning students were attached while the advanced students were evenly divided between a public child welfare organization and a child guidance clinic. The ability of relatives to assist clients and employers' estimates of clients' employability were

probably routine sources of investigation in the family case working agencies.

A more pertinent contrast for the evaluation of differences in agencies and differences in training levels would result if all the students (beginning and advanced) were engaged in a single agency, or if our comparison was made between groups of students of the same level of experience in separate agencies. Further knowledge of the institutions and persons contacted by the regular staff of an agency covering the same period of time is essential if any estimate of the extent to which the students' work approximates that of the professional workers is to be made. Although limited selection of cases may preclude any one student from covering the range of current case work practices, in the aggregate the work done by the group of students and the professional social worker should be the same. When, as in this survey, it was observed that the advanced students spent a significantly greater proportion of their field work time in the compilation of records than did the beginning students, the observation has meaning only when the amount of time so spent by the regular staff of the agency concerned is known. If, for example, students employed in a child guidance clinic spend 75 per cent of their time in record writing and the staff spend 50 per cent of their time at this task, while students in a family agency spend 37.5 per cent of their time in the compilation of records and the staff of this agency spend 25 per cent of their time in this manner, the rate of acquisition of the skill is the same for the two groups of students, although the absolute difference in time for the two groups of students is very great. A comparison of the absolute time of the two groups would tell you only that more time is spent in the execution of a process in one agency than in

another. Once the ratio of the students' performance to the regular staff is determined, then the contrast between the students is significant.

Fundamental to any program of individual guidance of a student's field work is an accurate knowledge of the distribution of his time. If interviewing clients and other persons is one of the most important processes in social case work, is it not reasonable to expect that an increasing proportion of the student's time shall be so consumed. If schools of social work are depending on individual conferences with the field supervisor to develop the student's own thinking and to clarify for him the discrepancies between theory and practice then certainly the amount of time given this aspect of field training is important. Fifteen minutes out of a total 48 hours would seem too little time to give to this important phase of training, while 10 hours out of 48 would seem too much. Granting that the amount of student's time given to conferences with supervisors is incidental, it is fundamental to a knowledge of the content of such conferences.

A first step in a well-considered program of field work is a time sheet. At the University of Minnesota a new blank was put in use in 1934. This blank provides space on which to record the time spent in interviewing, in travel, in conferences, and in office work. Under each of these major categories it is possible to indicate the particular person interviewed or the type of conference, i.e., whether with field guide, staff, or university supervisor. The blank is simple yet inclusive and permits ready calculation of the student's field time.

How may the more important factor of content of field work and the student's progress as a practicing social worker be known? Here it seems we must rely

almost entirely on the field supervisor's judgment. To the extent that the school is able to make clear its purposes and objectives in field work, the more likely is it that the field supervisor may direct their attainment.

The student's recognition and growing appreciation of the significance of the psychological implications of his clients' behavior is a matter that must be left almost entirely to the supervisor. How can the school, removed as it is, gauge and guide this aspect of the student's training? Class room courses lay the foundation, but the test of the student's understanding and interpretation of human behavior can be measured only as he works. The same is true of his ability to recognize, understand, and interpret the economic and social problems that his clients present. Hence one of the key persons in a social work training program is the field work supervisor. Not only should he be thoroughly familiar with the scope and content of the theory courses which the student has or is pursuing, but he should be quick to discover and translate the student's capacities to the student himself and to the school. The dependence that can be attached to such estimates will obviously correlate with the total personality of the supervisor. In fact the supervisor must be teacher and case worker *par excellence*.

From a brief consideration of the eight questions concerning the character and quality of the student's field training listed at the opening of this section it is apparent that answers to questions 1, 2, 6, and 7; namely, (1) Does his field work reflect the best current practices in reference to techniques and procedures? (2) Is he allowed to experience the most essential aspects of the work of the agency? (6) How much consideration does the agency give the student's own plans for a client? (7) How much time does the supervisor give directly to the student? may be gathered fairly accurately from student reports. Questions 3, 4, and 5, i.e., (3) Does it permit the development of the ability to discern in actual situations, facts and concepts studied in the class room? (4) Is it so arranged that he may test the practicability of theories and methods? (5) Is there progression in difficulty from elementary to advance field work courses? are probably more accurately ascertained from the supervisor's reports. A topical description would be sufficient to discover the extent of the parallelism between theory and practice. And here a theory background born of knowledge which extends beyond the confines of specific practice is implicit in the design of any curriculum which presumes to prepare students for social work. The last question, namely, "What is the quality of the supervision given the student," can be answered when the school authorities know their supervisors.

FAMILY SOCIAL WORK FACES THE FUTURE

PAUL L. BENJAMIN

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FOR days our boys and their chums had been transforming the cellar into a grotto of witch-craft. Black cats and hags on broomsticks rode the dark. From eerie corners peered spooks and grotesque faces carved in pumpkins. Halloween evening a circle of masked and costumed figures sat in an awed circle about a witches' cauldron. As Morgan, the swash-buckling rover himself, I stepped into the circle—dirk caught by a broad red sash—the skull and crossbones on my chest. There was a catching of breath. Then one of the figures arose and came towards me. A chubby finger was poked in my stomach. "Huh, don't be afraid, it's just my daddy behind a false face."

The time has come long since to cease being afraid of bogies and false faces. We need to confront our tasks and our future realistically and pragmatically. What is the situation and how did we get there?

The years before the depression social work marched fairly well along the even tenor of its way. We were building up a professional literature and experience. Schools of social work were taking hardy rootage. Our professional argot was becoming an abacadabra to the layman. There was marked expansion in joint financing and in the pioneering and staking out of claims in social planning. Private agencies were feeling their oats. Individual therapy stalked the stage. Social reform was somewhat down at the heel. To be sure, the great war recruited many of us for war service, into the Red Cross, or into other services such as at War Camp Community Service. Mary Richmond coined the phrase "home service." Except for some realignments and adjustments the trend was forward.

The ancient good may indeed be uncouth in the light of new conditions. It has become platitudinous to say that we are now in the midst of great social and economic changes and dislocations. The Townsend old age scheme, various plans for sharing wealth, the President's program for economic security, the four billion work relief bill—all are manifestations of the yeasty nature of the times.

Social work itself has also been undergoing a physical change. Otherwise, it might become the vermiform appendix of a decaying social order. It was only several years ago that a book had a phenomenal sale among social workers, one of the chief tenets of which was that social work had moved from social welfare to individual therapy. How out-moded that thesis seems now in the forum where men are engaging in heated polemics over vast social and economic programs.

We emphasized personal relationships. We neglected the impinging on man of external forces,—a man's place in society, his job or lack of one, the threat of insecurity, the desire for recognition and status on the part of one's fellows. An unemployed industrial engineer, who lives in a good residence district has been criticised because he won't move. But he realizes that it would be a toboggan slide if he did. We have shown too little concern for such problems as the hazards of illness, unemployment, and old age. We have left mainly the agitation in this arena to other groups. We have underestimated the effect of "social standards

and conventions" on conduct. We have been mentors for our families. Perhaps they have accepted our guidance because they wanted the rent paid. I have wondered if these families ever went economic how really secure in some instances our relationships with them would be.

The family agency—partly because during the pre-depression period it had become known as the relief organization in many American communities—has felt heavily the impact of the unemployment years. There is general agreement among social work leaders that unemployment relief has become the responsibility of government, that the assuaging of individual instances of economic distress has passed out of the field of private effort. In some quarters there has also been the expressed opinion that work with families should be a public responsibility. This flood-tide of attitudes and thinking necessitates a redirection in the work of the family agency. It demands a careful scrutiny of its purposes and aims. It insists on increasing standards of personnel with sound performance, tested skill, and competence. It asks an awareness to changing conditions.

This consideration raises inevitably the question of relationships between public and private agencies. As Linton B. Swift has so well indicated, the governmental agency represents all of us. Like a magnetic needle it swings close to the pole of public understanding. Its services must be available to all without discrimination. It is the mechanism of all the people for the welfare of its citizens. When it speaks it does so with official authority. It should implement the community's will in softening and mitigating social ills.

The strength and weakness of the public agency are implicit in its public nature. It is chained down to a sluggish public

will. It is freighted with political considerations. It must carry public approval with it. It is subject to legal limitations. On the other hand, the private agency can be more swiftly moving. It can be a germinating, dynamic force in a democratic society which is not regimented by rigid forms of control. It can experiment. It can demonstrate in an area not yet acceptable to all citizens. It should serve the public agency as a skilled force, ready to give help, to break new trails, to adventure perilously if need be. It should have courage to speak out, vision to anticipate trends, leadership to espouse new causes for social betterment.

Mrs. John M. Glenn has quoted a statement of the London County Council of December, 1932, prefaced by the Public Assistance Committee of the Council that: "The community cannot give full expression to the neighborly spirit, especially in times of widespread distress, exclusively through money raised by taxation and distributed by public bodies. Social solidarity demands that voluntary effort should be allotted a real function in contributing to the public welfare."

How are these new relationships and the changing nature of their work affecting family agencies? Family societies are themselves asking many questions. Among them are: "What is the effect of the depression upon the family society?" "Specifically, what new services are these agencies offering to families?" "How are they drawing upon past experience to plan for the future?" "What new directions are being taken?" "What of skills?" As a mimeographed report of the Family Welfare Association of America comments, the answers to these questions are not to be found in statistical reports but in the living records of family agencies, in case histories, in committee reports and in the experience of visitors

who are intimately acquainted with human problems. We see what is happening to families under the tension of prolonged unemployment. An agency writes: "We are led to believe that the effect of the depression on family life is disastrous. We see everywhere the weakening of family unity and loyalty. It is true that families that survive and remain integrated during the depression and an experience of this kind show great strength." On the other hand a mother says: "The depression has brought the family closer together. Each member sticks up for the other and does everything to help the others out."

With some of the family agencies a large percentage of the families coming to them offer no economic need. In Baltimore, 81 per cent of the families were out of the relief status. A recent count in Buffalo shows that the oldest family society in the country also has a large service load. But these non-relief families present a wide gamut of needs. According to the report of the national association: "Behavior problems form one of the largest groups in intake and include many of what appear to be very serious misdemeanors and anti-social acts, family disintegration, and adult and juvenile delinquencies. Domestic difficulties recur frequently; strained relationships between husband and wife, ranging from temporary irritations to deep-seated maladjustments." The Family Welfare Association of Milwaukee last year interviewed the 1,100 families in which they were administering public relief and where the responsibility for relief was to be turned over to the public agency. About 700 of the families desired to remain with the Association on a service basis. These families contained: motherless families, men struggling to keep families together; families in which there were domestic or

personality difficulties; families in which an individual has attempted suicide; families with serious health problems. Of course, family agencies have always had a considerable proportion of their clients on a service basis. The vital change is probably in treatment, with an approach to problems colored by new methods and new truths.

What does this rounding of the horn portend for family agencies? What are the new trade winds? What are the currents? Accumulating evidence is that they are boxing the compass on new channels and new sea roads. Personally, I believe that this provides the opportunity of meeting the challenge implicit in family social work, made difficult by the incubus of relief which they carried. In the past what was their attitude towards parent education, sex hygiene, family consultation centers, child study groups? What educational work in a better understanding of family life and what makes for successful marriage have they undertaken? The literature is full of broken families. How about happy family relations?

Other agencies and new movements were marching into the promised land. In one middle-western city, the local municipal university for several years had many married women enrolled in courses in family life before the family agency had any inkling of the fact. Child study groups have mushroomed in city after city without any cultivation from the family society. In a large eastern city a metropolitan church organized a marriage adjustment center to which scores of men and women thronged who would have scorned the portals of an associated charities. In a northern city, well-known for a family agency with a long and distinguished service, a down town church for years has had a successful marriage and family clinic. At the annual meeting of the

American Social Hygiene Association several years ago one of the chief topics dealt with family consultation service.

Fortunately, family agencies are showing vitality, resilience, and leadership. They are redirecting their energies to meet the opportunity. According again to the study of the national organization "the increasing number of families without economic need who are applying to family agencies for help in domestic problems has brought a renewed emphasis on family consultation service as a function of the family agency. Nearly all agencies report that the greater part of their work has to do with problems of domestic discord, relations between parent and child, behavior problems of children due to lack of parental understanding and with both the tangible and intangible aspects of home-making and family life, although they have set up no special department to serve this particular group." Indeed, some agencies have been experimenting with special departments staffed by workers especially equipped with courses in parental education and psychiatry. Cincinnati has started a family consultation service to provide service "on an individual basis to dissatisfied married persons."

This deepening of the agencies' service brings as a corollary more competence and skill in dealing with the baffling and subtle problems of human beings. John P. Sanderson, the general secretary of the Family Welfare Society of Rochester in his report at the annual meeting of the society December, 1933, stated: "We are, therefore, right now in a transition period. Our future program is fairly clearly defined. In the practical carrying forward of this program, we have had to keep in mind the difficulties of the present emergency situation and await certain adjustments which time alone can make. It is clear, however, that in the future we will

place a new emphasis on service, and that our acceptance of cases will be based on social treatment rather than economic need." To that end Mr. Sanderson recommended a drastically reduced load for each visitor.

Now that family agencies are not bogged down with the heavy impedimenta of relief, certain gaps are revealing themselves. The fact that new services are being called for is in itself an evidence of this hiatus in activity. For instance, other agencies are now more frequently calling upon the family agency for a great variety of services. In several cities, for instance, the divorce courts are asking the aid of the family agency with persons applying for divorce to ascertain if expert case work service might solve the difficulty rather than a divorce.

The new leisure and the increasing regimentation of industry have offered another challenge. The man who performs one monotonous operation all day or the woman who sews on coat lapels hour after hour are not good soil for happy family life. Recently, I visited the "cultural workshop" in Westchester County, N. Y. Here were scores of men and women busily and happily engaged in creative tasks. One group was modeling exquisite pottery, another was designing a stage set for a play, a third was rehearsing for the play itself. The director told me of instance after instance of couples whose marriage craft was teetering upon jagged rocks, but who were able to pilot it into placid waters through the release to jangled nerves in creative activity.

I believe that we have also rediscovered the volunteer. We had somewhat scorned lay participation during the pre-depression years. Social work was in its heyday. Community chests were raising increasing sums of money. We went our cloistered way, wrapped in the mantle of profes-

sional aloofness and disdain. We were glad to let chest executives vicariously represent us in the hurly-burly of the market-place. To be sure, their salaries were in larger figures than ours. But the depression years have been rowdy and awakening. We have come to realize anew the need for a broad base of support and understanding. The volunteer is coming back, but the volunteer rigidly selected and meticulously trained for certain tasks.

Another concomitant of the past several years has been the increasing awareness on the part of the public of social work. The newspapers drip with stories from the relief bureaus. We have been paying the price for the years of sob-sister appeals— the familiar campaign poster of the emaciated child tightly hugging a bedraggled doll. Someone has said that the folkways always win. Our publicity has tended to develop a jaundiced public attitude toward social welfare. Fortunately, in the "Mobilization of Human Needs" undertaken the past several years under the aegis of Community Chests and Councils, we have had the kind of accurate, intelligent and understandable publicity which is needed. But a public shepherded by the fife and drum of an emotional relief appeal will demand a wise program of interpretation if the family agency is to win support for the new program which is in the making.

This dynamic growth in family social work can only come through wise and intelligent leadership of staff and board. Leadership is an essential ingredient in development and growth. It connotes a following. The change in Cincinnati from a city notorious for its gang rule to one of the best administered cities in the country was due to dynamic leadership— brains in action. "Leadership is the ability to lead." It means going somewhere and taking folks along.

In *What Every Woman Knows* the wife pulls the strings. Effective leadership can often express itself through others. Two types of leadership have frequently been suggested,—the "direct" and the "indirect." I heard an associate speak recently of a leading figure in social work with the statement, "leadership always rested about him." We should be able to pass on the mantle of Elijah. Leadership must also carry over into the community if there is to be dynamic community growth. A great Jewish social work leader in describing his religion said to me recently, "Our religious teaching has become so much a part of us that we don't stop to ask, 'Is this act in accordance with my religion?' but instead the act flows naturally from a deep and abiding conviction which governs all our actions towards our fellows." Somehow we must create that kind of attitude. It is one of humbleness, humility, strength. The drive-for-power is a bitter root for a social worker to eat. It denies to him the rare privilege of standing in the wings while someone else speaks the part. The abnegation of self enlarges the circle of support and understanding. Leadership means sharing, means participation.

In one of her early publications, Margaret Byington quoted Ezekiel, "And the spirit of life was within the wheels." Community growth means more than mechanism. It means life, will, energy, team-play, partnership. It means that the cogs and pistons and gears move in obedience to a human will and intelligence that gives them direction and purpose. Somehow, we must have an inner urge to coöperate,—something more than lip service to an ideal. It implies a willingness to sink one's own pet project into the pool of the community good. In one city a social work executive said, "I'd be willing to submit this new project to the Council of Social Agencies if I could be

sure that their decision would be the same as mine." Coöperation signifies a willingness to take the chance that the decision might be an adverse one.

The story is told of E. H. Harriman that in opening a directors meeting he said: "Gentlemen, we must have coöperation. I insist upon it." Later he was asked his definition of coöperation. He replied: "Oh, that's simple, do as I say and do it damned quick." Interagency harmony and community growth doesn't come that way.

Miss Follet in The New State brilliantly marshalls the principles for real group thinking and group action. May I quote several of her epigrammatic suggestions? "Unity, not uniformity, should be our aim. We attain unity only through variety. Differences must be integrated, not annihilated, nor absorbed." "A democratic community is one in which the common will is being gradually created by the civic activity of its citizens." "The act of relating is the creative act." Viscount Haldane in his introduction to the book said these words: "We are not isolated atoms, we live and we think only in communion with other of our kind, and it is so that we evolve the collective will which, in its fullest and most imperative form, gives rise as to its outcome in sovereignty. This will is not a mere aggregate of isolated wills. It evolves itself through living with others in group life, out of actual identity of ideas and purposes amid their differences."

President Hoover's Research Committee on Social Trends set forth the principle that: "A nation advances not only by dynamic power, but by and through the maitenance of some degree of equilibrium among the moving forces." How may advances be made? How may gains be held? How may positions be consolidated? I am of the opinion that these objectives may be gained through a Council of Social Agencies, provided it is the kind of instrument which offers a fusing of ideas, a pooling of interests and experience, a confluence of diverse programs into a channel for the common welfare.

Particularly at this critical juncture of affairs is a planning body especially imperative. It should not be a private agency council, but an all-inclusive one. It should not be rigid, dictatorial, routine, but flexible, experimental, explorative. I further believe that the independent council offers the-best medium for joint planning. Certainly it is freer to act upon controversial issues. It can give more of a sense of belonging to the public agency. There is less fear of financial direction. Its deliberations should be interwoven with forbearance, patience, and understanding.

Finally, the bright, brazen challenges which the times are issuing to family social work may be a blessing in disguise. We must re-examine ourselves. We must shake off our complacency. We must gird our loins for a great adventure. Perhaps there will be a turning back to the blithe, daring, debonair spirit of the great pioneers in family social work. Perchance we can catch something of their gay and dauntless spirit as we move forward. Let's rededicate ourselves in the spirit of humility, courage, and sacrifice to the task of human service which is ours.

DEPENDENCY IN THE OZARKS

MORRIS G. CALDWELL, AND SHEILA M. CALDWELL

University of Kentucky

STATIONED on one of the Ozark hilltops in midsummer, one can observe in every direction an endless succession of high hills and deep valleys all clothed in a mantle of green. The majesty of a sunrise or the glory of a sunset in the Ozark mountains is a beautiful sight to behold. Gushing forth from these Ozark hillsides are many bubbling, sparkling springs, which feed a network of small mountain streams and branches. These finally find their outlet into the lazy Niangua River, which flows along the eastern side of Dallas County. The wonders of nature in the Ozarks are many to behold. Many a visitor in this region has been possessed with a desire to resign from the trials, difficulties, and problems of this life, and go up and build a mountain home on the highest Ozark peak.

Subjective-moralistic terms are hardly ever appropriate in social science, nevertheless, there is one sentence which epitomizes the whole social situation in the Ozarks. "Nature at its 'best,' Human Nature at its 'worst'." In sharp contrast to the wonders of nature, the human side of life in the Ozarks presents a dark picture, indeed. Sickness and disease, unemployment, poverty and dependency, and family disorganization exist on every hand. There are virtually hundreds of families in this section, isolated almost completely from civilization, living in one room cabins without floors, eking out a bare subsistence in the Ozark hills. These majestic hills, although grand and glorious to behold, are inhospitable to the natives and non-productive, for only a thin veneer of rocky soil covers them.

This research, which was sponsored by the Missouri Relief and Reconstruction Commission, is a study of 440 dependent families comprising approximately 2,000 persons, the active case load on relief in Dallas County, Missouri, September 1, 1935.

Dallas County is located in the heart of the Ozark region in south central Missouri. The population of this county, according to the 1930 census, is 10,541, all of which is rural. Buffalo, with a population of 835, is the only town of any consequence in the entire county.

The principal types of dependency described in this article may be differentiated as follows: The aged dependent refers to a group of approximately 130 families which have arrived at their present state of public dependency due primarily to old age, supplemented by other factors. The unemployed group consists of approximately 115 families, whose bread-winners had whole or part time employment until the effects of the present depression began to be felt. The third group is composed of approximately 120 squatter families. The forefathers of this squatter group and many of the squatters themselves were formerly employed as timber workers, but the best timber has long ago been manufactured into lumber of else ruthlessly destroyed by its owners in order to give the grass a chance to grow. Thus, the employment connected with the timber industry has also disappeared, leaving a large population marooned in the hills without a permanent means of livelihood. This squatter group, because of ignorance of the opportunities available in the outside world, uneducated for industrial employment, and lacking the necessary finances for an escape from this area, have been reduced to the lowest depths of

poverty. These unfortunate squatters have been compelled to resort to hunting, fishing, picking berries, and a primitive type of truck patch gardening in order to subsist. The federal government, through the relief program, has saved many of these families from utter starvation, untold human suffering, and disease.

AGED DEPENDENCY

As stated before, the aged dependent group in this study consists of approximately 130 families, whose breadwinners are incapacitated on account of old age. The age distribution for the male head of the household ranges from 60 years, which is the dividing line between the aged and the employable group, to 84 years. The age group, 70–74 years, is the modal group with over 30 per cent of the cases. The median age is found to be 70.28 years, which shows that this group is an aged group, indeed. At the present time these aged persons are being cared for by the direct relief program of the federal government; however, due to the passage of the Old Age Pension Law in Missouri, many of these cases were transferred to the state system during the latter part of November. Since 70 years is the age at which the new pension law begins to apply and also since the continuance of the federal government's direct relief program is an uncertainty, approximately 48 per cent of the aged are in a precarious position, because they fall in the age group 60–69, inclusive. Up to the present time no provision for their care has been made.

The age distribution of the female heads of these households is much younger than that of the males. Although the age range is the same, nearly two-thirds are below the age limit of the Missouri Pension Law. The median age is found to be 67.95 years, which is over two years younger than the males. This difference in age distributions of the two sexes is due to the tendency on the part of men to marry women younger than themselves.

The size of family for the aged dependent group is exceedingly small. In over 28 per cent of the cases these families consist of only one person, while in 44 per cent of the cases the family consists of two persons. The median size of family is found to be 1.99 persons. The small size of family is to be attributed to the fact that this study considers only children living at home as members of the family. The older children have grown up, left home, married, and started homes of their own, and therefore, are not considered.

The data on residence show that approximately, 77 per cent of the males and 87 per cent of the females have resided in Dallas County 20 years or more. The data further show that a very large percentage of the male and female heads of these households were born and reared in Dallas County. These facts definitely establish the conclusion that these aged dependent belong primarily to Dallas County and that this county should assume its proper share of the responsibility for their care.

The data on marital status of the males show that approximately, 66 per cent are married, 18 per cent widowed, 5 per cent deserted, 5 per cent divorced, and 6 per cent single, while for the females, approximately 57 per cent are married, 31 per cent widowed, 3 per cent deserted, 5 per cent divorced, and only 3 per cent single. It appears that more of the males are married, fewer widowed, more deserted, the same percentage divorced, and more single than the females. The percentage of males married is approximately the same as in the general population of the United States. This high percentage of married is surprising in view of the fact that these males comprise an aged group.

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Many of these males keep perennially young by marrying a young wife when the old one dies or becomes antiquated. The data on previous marriages for these aged dependents reveal that approximately one-half belong to each sex. The distribution of cases according to the number of divorces shows that 40 per cent were granted to the husband and 60 per cent to the wife. This distribution is in agreement with statistics for the general population on this matter.

The economic and financial life of these aged dependents may be stated very briefly. Approximately 88 per cent of these aged dependents receive no cash income whatever. Eighty per cent of the small group who have some cash income receive less than $2.50 per week. Also, 60 per cent of these aged dependents have absolutely no resources of any kind and depend almost completely upon the government for support. Home ownership is a valuable index in determining the status of any group. The data reveal that approximately 68 per cent do not own their own homes. The foregoing statistics show that these aged dependents have very little income or resources, and are compelled to accept relief or else die the slow death of starvation, since they have passed the period of their employability and earning power.

The data on educational status show that approximately 44 per cent of the males and 42 per cent of the females have never attended school. Also, 66 per cent of the males and 63 per cent of the females have less than a fifth grade education. There are only four cases in which either the males or females have received an education beyond the eighth grade. Education is supposed to assist one in making normal life adjustments. The education of these dependents appears to be insufficient for that purpose.

Finally, approximately 43 per cent of the males and 46.5 per cent of the females in this dependent group report chronic disabilities of one kind and another, ranging all the way from tuberculosis to cancer. A large part of these conditions are due to the fact that Dallas County has failed to meet the health needs of her population by not providing a regular county doctor and not furnishing adequate health services for those who are unable to purchase them.

The aged dependent in this section of the Ozarks presents a dark picture indeed. The period of his earning power is gone; his income and resources are practically nil; his health is impaired; and his spirit is broken. And further, his prospects for an old age pension are vague—first, because those aged between 60 and 70 years of age are not entitled to it under the new law; and second, those 70 years of age or over will be forced to prove their age to the county court before receiving the pension, because the Dallas County Court House, including all records, was destroyed by fire in 1868, three years after those who are now 70 years old or over were born. It will be a very difficult task for many of the aged to prove their ages without the aid of these records.

DEPENDENCY DUE TO UNEMPLOYMENT

The second main type of dependency with which this article deals is caused by unemployment. Approximately 115 families in the present research come under the scope of this all too familiar term. Before the depression began the male head of the household in these families was employed either whole or part time in some type of employment, such as farm laborer, truck driver, carpenter or stone mason. Since other types of employment are not available in this region and the period of economic reconstruction is apt to cover a long

period of years, it appears that many of these laborers may become permanently unemployed.

The age distribution of both the male and female heads of these households range all the way from the 15–19 age group to the 60 year age limit, which is the dividing line between the aged dependent and the employable dependents in this study. The median age for the males is found to be 39.47 years and 32.64 years for the females. The age difference between the sexes of nearly seven years may be explained on the same basis as the age difference existing between the aged male and female dependents—namely, the tendency on the part of men to marry women younger than themselves.

The size of family ranges all the way from two to ten persons in the family. The modal family group consists of four persons, with over 21 per cent of the cases. The median size of family is found to consist of 4.46 persons, which seems to be exceptionally large when one recalls that the scope of this study includes only those children who are living at home. If data were available on the number of children born into these families, the size of family would appear still larger. The large size of family for these unemployed dependents is partly due to the fact that these parents are in the most productive and reproductive years of life when fertility is generally the greatest.

The data on residence show that the present problem of unemployment in Dallas County is primarily a local problem, for over 75 per cent of the male heads of those households have lived in Dallas County for over 20 years. This tendency is not true to such an extent for their wives, for only 68 per cent have lived in the county for the same period of time. Further, the statistics show that many of these unemployed males, together with their wives, were born and reared in Dallas County, have lived most of their lives in the county and probably will continue to do so. Therefore, any program of rehabilitation which the government might initiate should either make employment available in Dallas County or else encourage a general exodus of these laborers to other parts of the state and nation where employment is available. The first alternative appears impractical, inasmuch as this would mean the artificial creation of industry in this region. Difficulties also stand in the way of the selection of the second alternative because these laborers are not adapted to or educated for industrial employment.

The statistics on marital status show that approximately 92 per cent are married, 3.5 per cent widowed, and 3.5 per cent divorced. This is a very large percentage married when a comparison is made with the general population of Missouri, which shows 62.1 per cent married at the time of the 1930 census. From the statistics on widowhood and divorce, it appears that the broken home is a small item among this group of dependents. Family solidarity and a consciousness of family unity are two of the forces which help this group of dependent families bear the crisis of unemployment.

The economic and financial data regarding these families may be summarized briefly as follows: approximately, 84 per cent have no cash income and the small number of families which have a cash income, receive less than $2.50 per week; nearly 64 per cent do not own their own homes; approximately, 40 per cent own no personal property of any description, and the two-thirds of those who have some personal property value it at less than $100.00; and finally, over 54 per cent pay less than $5.00 monthly cash rent, while nearly 35 per cent pay their house rent by

rendering services of one kind or another to the landlord. It is readily observable from the foregoing facts that this group of dependents has a very inferior economic status.

The educational status of this dependent group is decidedly inferior. Approximately 16.5 per cent of the male heads of households and 27.5 of the female heads have never attended school, while 42.5 per cent of the males and 40.5 per cent of the females have less than a fifth grade education. The remainder of the cases are distributed among the last four grades of elementary school, with a mere sprinkling for the four years of high school. It is obvious that such a low educational ranking may hinder these people from making the normal life adjustments. Perhaps one of the major factors back of the present unemployment is a lack of education and vocational training. Thus, these dependents as a group are unable to accept new types of employment when they arise.

Since these dependents are employable persons in the prime of life, it is not surprising that only 27.5 per cent of the cases report chronic disabilities and physical ailments. Most of these physical disabilities are found among the children of this group rather than within the parents themselves.

From the foregoing presentation it appears that this group of dependents is handicapped because of unemployment, inferior economic status, and lack of education and training, thus producing a type of dependency, which, for the most part, may be alleviated if the proper types of social planning, social engineering, and social case work are employed.

SQUATTER DEPENDENCY

The third main type of dependency prevalent in this section of the Ozarks may be called squatter dependency. Approxi-

mately, 120 squatter families come within the scope of this term. A squatter family is easily distinguished from an unemployed family. The male head of an unemployed family was formerly employed, may still have some resources, holds to a philosophy of work as a means of making a living for himself and family, and entertains hopes of rehabilitation in the near future, while the male head of a squatter family, on the other hand, has never been permanently employed since the final disappearance of the timber industry, has no resources, receives no cash income, possesses no personal property, owns no home, holds to a do-nothing-philosophy, and expresses no hope of ever escaping from the poverty-stricken conditions of his present existence. The unemployed man realizes the nature of his problem, while the squatter fails to comprehend that he has a problem. Dependency for the unemployed man is only a temporary state. Squatterhood for the squatter is a "way of life," which soon becomes crystallized into a life pattern.

The size of the family ranges all the way from one person, in approximately 16 per cent of the cases, to 10 persons in 3 per cent of the cases. The median family is found to consist of 3.05 persons. This is considerably smaller than the family of the unemployed which is 4.46 persons. The smaller size family for the squatter group may be due to the fact that the rigorous life of squatterhood causes a higher rate of infant mortality than among the unemployed.

The median age for the male head of the squatter family is found to be 43.12 years and 35.63 years for the female. The median age for the male adult squatter is approximately 3.5 years older than his unemployed brother and the median age for the adult female squatter is approximately 3 years older than her unemployed

sister. The data on length of residence show that approximately 72 per cent of the adult male squatters and 70.5 per cent adult female squatters have lived in Dallas County for over 20 years. This indicates that squatterhood may be a local phenomenon characteristic of this section of the Ozarks.

The data on marital status reveal approximately 69 per cent married, 10 per cent widowed, 8 per cent deserted, 6.5 per cent divorced, and 5.75 per cent single. In a comparison with the unemployed in this study it appears that the squatter group have a smaller number married, more widowed, more deserted, more divorced, and more single than the unemployed group. This would seem to indicate that the foundations of family life are beginning to weaken under the severity and economic distress of squatterhood.

The educational status of the squatter group is even more inferior than that of the unemployed. Approximately 40 per cent of the adult male squatters and 35 per cent of the adult female squatters have never attended school, while 56.5 per cent of the males and 43 per cent of the females have less than a fifth grade education. Social contacts of the squatter group are few and simple and intercourse with the outside world is negligible; therefore, an inferior education may be sufficient to meet his daily needs. However, a lack of education acts as an impassable barrier to prevent him from achieving a higher economic and social status.

In addition to the foregoing, there are a few additional factors which contribute to and perpetuate squatter dependency, such as too large a family found in approximately 10 per cent of the cases, poor health in 21 per cent of the cases, and sickness in nearly 10 per cent of the cases.

It is obvious from the foregoing facts that this group of squatter dependents possesses a very low standard of living and a very inferior economic and social status. The squatter dependent is not a product of the present economic depression, but arose in this section of the Ozarks near the beginning of the present century, simultaneously with the disappearance of the timber, as a result of an unwise policy of reckless exploitation of natural resources. Three principal types of dependency exist in the Ozarks, aged dependency, dependency resulting from unemployment, and squatter dependency, but squatter dependency appears to be the most characteristic of this region.

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SOCIOLOGY

Professor G. L. Duprat, of the University of Geneva, Secretary-General of the International Institute of Sociology, has made a preliminary announcement of the program of the Thirteen International Congress of Sociology which is to meet at Paris, France, September 2–5, 1937, under the auspices of the Universal Exposition to be held at Paris in 1937. The general topic of the Congress will be "Social Equilibrium." At the first session on September 2, 1937 Professor P. A. Sorokin, of Harvard University, who is president of the Institute for 1937 will preside. The subject of that session will be "Historical and Critical Methodology of the Concept." The second session will be devoted to the determination and definition of the types of social equilibrium. The third session will have as its general topic "The Sequence and Morphology of Social Equilibrium." The fourth session will have as its subject "The Pathology and Physiology of Social Equilibrium." The fifth session will be devoted to diverse papers and communications; the sixth to the report of the general secretary and discussion. It is understood that this program is tentative and does not bar out papers on other subjects which Members and Associates of the Institute wish to present. Those who desire to participate in the Congress are requested to send before the second of April, 1937, the titles and abstracts of their papers to Professor G. L. Duprat, Secretary-General of the International Institute of Sociology, 6 Cours de Rive, Geneva, Switzerland.

THE COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE SETTLEMENT SCENE CHANGES

SIDNEY J. LINDENBERG AND RUTH ELLEN ZITTEL

Neighborhood Centre, Philadelphia

MANY years ago Jane Addams defined the Settlement as an "experimental effort to aid in the solution of the social and industrial problems which are engendered by the modern conditions of life in a great city." To get at the root of these problems the early founders of the Settlement movement established their houses in so-called slum areas. The area of the lowest income laborers, the area of small shop keepers and push cart men, the area of immigrant settlers, the area of the poorest and least privileged—these were the sections of our great cities in which Jane Addams, Stanton Coit, Charles B. Stover, William J. Tucker, Robert A. Woods, Graham Taylor, and other early Settlement founders, chose to do their work.

From the very first, the Settlements found one of their major problems that of working with the immigrant—interpreting America to him and interpreting the culture of his homeland to his American born children. Jane Addams in her book *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, devoted a great deal of time to discussing immigrants and their children. She said, "One thing seemed clear in regard to entertaining immigrants; to preserve and keep whatever of value their past life contained and to bring them in contact with a better type of Americans." To carry out this aim, Hull-House devoted special evenings to different nationality groups. They attempted to bridge the gap between European and American experiences through a Labor museum. They tried to bring about a better understanding between parents steeped in foreign cultures and children born to the American way of life. Truly, this dealing with the immigrant and his children was one of the major undertakings at Hull-House. So it was with all other Neighborhood Houses.

To this day, more than fifty years since the founding of the Settlement movement, Neighborhood Houses still are, as Mrs. Mary Kingsbury Simkovitch, headworker at Greenwich House, New York, so aptly stated, "America's committee of welcome" to the immigrant. But the time has come, when Settlement workers by looking a short distance ahead may see that within the near future it will become less and less important for us to act as havens of good counsel, interpreters of America, and buffers against the hard knocks of a new life for the immigrant and his children. Our neighborhoods are changing, our methods of government are changing, our Settlement problem of the immigrant will be relegated to the background to be replaced by the challenge

of new problems, many of which have only been scratched up to the present time. However, before going into what the future really holds for us, let's test the truth of this premise concerning the immigrant by a cursory examination of statistics and charts on immigration.

A glance at the immigration statistics for the period 1875-1934 shows a rapidly increasing rate of immigration in the early years of the nineteenth century until the outbreak of the war in 1914.[1] Except for a temporary rise in the years immediately following the war, the trend has

TABLE I*

Total Number of Immigrants by Five Year Periods, 1875-1934

YEARS	TOTAL NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS
1875-1879	855,636
1880-1884	3,037,594
1885-1889	2,210,974
1890-1894	2,320,645
1895-1899	1,373,649
1900-1904	3,255,149
1905-1909	4,947,239
1910-1914	5,174,701
1915-1919	1,172,679
1920-1924	2,774,600
1925-1929	1,520,910
1930-1934	426,953

* U. S. Dept. of Labor, Immigration Service, 1820-1934.

been markedly downward. (See Table I, and Figure I.) Compare the peak volume of 5,174,701 persons in the five year period 1910-1914 with 2,774,600 persons in the 1920-1924 period, and 426,953 persons in the 1930-1934 period. With the national origins provision of the immigration law of 1924 becoming effective on July 1, 1929, a maximum of only 150,000 persons can be admitted annually, the quota for each country bearing the same ratio to 150,000 as the number of inhabitants in the

[1] United States Department of Commerce, Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1820-1934.

United States, having the national origin, bear to the total number of inhabitants in continental United States. These quotas discriminate notably against the Southern and Southeastern European countries and favor immigration from Germany, England, and the Scandinavian countries. The quotas from England, North Ireland, Norway, Sweden, and Germany added together total 97,369 possible immigrants annually. That leaves annually only 52,631 possible immigrants from all other countries. The Northern European immigrants who are encouraged to come and who adjust more readily in higher income occupations and in homes outside the so-called slum areas are not prone to fill their quotas. The Southern European immigrants, who because of their low economic and educational status, were forced to settle in slum areas, making Americanization more difficult, are reduced to a mere handful by the quotas.

If we assume that these 52,641 Southern European immigrants, who can come, and are more likely to come, settle in the twenty largest manufacturing states, with large urban populations, the rate of immigration per state would then be only 2,630 persons. When distributed over the many cities of each state as well as the agricultural areas, the number would hardly be noticeable. Considering, that since 1930, neither the Northern nor Southern European immigrants have been filling their quotas, the dimensions of the problem of Americanizing shrink to almost nothing. Immigration statistics show that of the total 150,000 from both North and South Europe who were permitted to come, only 97,139 came in 1931, 35,576 in 1932, 23,058 in 1933, and 29,470 in 1934. With the decreased need for immigrant labor, the increasingly fervent belief that immigrant restriction is of great national benefit, and the intense

growth of nationalism, there is no evidence to point toward a relaxing of the laws. Therefore, we have every right to assume that our original premise, that in the near future the Settlement problem of dealing with the immigrant will be relegated to the background, is a correct premise.

The question now arises, "How is the composition of these original immigrant areas changing, and what will be the resulting implications for the Settlement program?" We note two phenomena of importance—a change in the immigrant population and the growth of the Negro element.

Speaking first of the change in the immigrant population, what do we find? The more successful immigrants, who originally made their homes in Settlement areas, and their second and third generation children move from their original areas to better middle class neighborhoods as they become established economically and socially. Behind them, in their old homes, they leave their less fortunate friends and neighbors. These Americanized children and grandchildren of immigrants left behind, who incidentally are still the underprivileged group as regards income, educational opportunity, housing, recreation, etc., have an entirely different set of problems than their immigrant parents whom the Settlements found themselves concerned with in serving the underprivileged. Their problem is certainly not one of becoming adjusted to a different culture, that is, Americanized. It centers rather in the unemployment situation, the personal demoralization resulting from it, and the cultural poverty of life in the slum area.

Turning from the second and third generation "immigrant children" to consider a new and constantly increasing element in the Settlement neighborhood, the Negro,

let us peer at the course of Negro migration in urban areas. Prior to 1910, Negro migration to cities was relatively insignificant. With the cessation of European immigration, the demand for labor during the war years, and the increasing dissatisfaction of the Negro with his lot in the South, a current of migration, particularly northward, was set up, that has been flooding the cities with the Negro ever since. An urban Negro population that was 2,684,797 in 1910 rose to 3,559,473 in 1920 and 5,193,913 in 1930 through migration and natural increase. The general trend of the Negro movement accord-
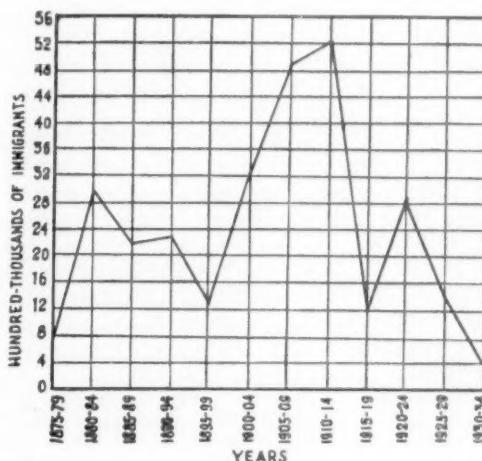

FIG. 1

ing to the official statement of the Census Bureau, has been from small urban and rural areas to cities of 100,000 or more inhabitants. From 1920 to 1930, the Negro population of cities of 100,000 or more increased over 1,200,000. The rate of migration to Southern Cities has been decreasing, whereas the rate of migration to Northern cities has been increasing.[2] In the South the Negro migrants distributed themselves in cities of all sizes, but in the North the tendency has been to concentrate in a few large cities. T. J.

[2] U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Census, *Negroes in the U. S.*, 1920–1932.

Woofter, Jr., in his book, *Races and Ethnic Groups in American Life*, published in 1933, shows that 64 per cent of the northern increase over the twenty year period 1910–1930 was concentrated in ten large Northern cities.[3] An interesting fact to note in passing is the massing of Settlements in these Northern cities which are receiving the Negro migrants. Seventy-nine of the 152 Settlements in the whole of the United States that are recognized by the National Federation of Settlements are located in the ten cities mentioned by Woofter in his study. Excluding the eight Settlements in the South, the six in

Keeping in mind this massing of Settlements in the larger Northern cities, let us consider the particular neighborhoods that are absorbing the Negroes. Because of an inferior economic position and pressure from a white group, which through control of recreation, housing, and education restricts his freedom of movement, the Negro is forced into the most densely crowded, unsanitary areas—(i.e., so-called slum areas). He is going into the "Settlement areas" inhabited by the foreign born and their children, living side by side with them in some instances, driving them completely out in other instances. What

TABLE II

NEGRO POPULATION IN SELECTED LARGE CITIES*

CITY	1910	1920	1930	INCREASE 1910–1930
New York	91,709	152,467	327,706	235,997
Chicago	44,103	109,458	233,903	189,800
Philadelphia	84,459	134,229	219,599	135,140
Detroit	5,741	40,838	120,066	114,325
St. Louis	43,690	69,854	93,580	49,890
Cleveland	8,448	34,451	71,899	63,451
Kansas City	32,752	45,124	58,446	25,694
Pittsburgh	25,623	37,725	54,983	29,360
Cincinnati	19,679	30,079	47,818	28,139
Indianapolis	21,816	34,678	43,967	22,151

* Table selected from Woofter's study.   (A) U. S. Census, 1910–1930; (B) Kansas and Missouri combined.

California, and the four west of Minneapolis and St. Paul, we find 134 of the 152 Settlements in the Northern and Eastern cities, east of Minneapolis and St. Paul.[4]

[3] See Ch. IV, pp. 71–79.

[4] National Federation of Settlements, Directory of Settlements.   September, 1935.

Settlements in the South are in the following cities: Ensley, Alabama (1), District of Columbia (2), Louisville, Kentucky (1), New Orleans, Louisiana (1), Nashville, Tennessee (1), Houston, Texas (1), Richmond, Virginia (1).

In California: Los Angeles (1), Riverside (1), San Francisco (2).

In cities west of Minneapolis and St. Paul: Des Moines, Iowa (1), Salt Lake City, Utah (1), Omaha, Nebraska (2).

is significant for us, however, is the fact of the Negroes settling in these areas which have already degenerated through years of "population packing," lax sanitary regulation, and political corruption. Woofter thinks that the Negro sections of the American metropolis are probably the most densely populated sections of America. In a study of seventeen cities in 1925, he found that the Negro population averaged as much as four times the density of the white in some of these cities, and that municipal services in these Negro sections were of lower grade than in white areas.[5] A glance at the Negro sections

[5] T. J. Woofter, Jr., *Negro Problems in Cities*. Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1928.

of our large cities is enough to convince us that the houses are old, highly unsanitary, and often beyond repair. The density of the Negro population in these areas, which are the areas where Settlements are located, has greatly accentuated the terrific problems of recreation, education, social welfare, sanitation, and health which already existed. In the highly populated Negro neighborhoods we find three pronounced evidences of social maladjustment—a high rate of delinquency, a high morbidity and mortality rate, and a low standard of living. This brings us to a pertinent question, "What is the Settlement, the sponsor of the underprivileged and the champion of the immigrant, doing for the Negro who has settled on its doorstep?" We can say upon observation that comparatively few of the Settlements have even scratched the surface of this problem. Except for a scattered Settlement here and there—an occasional poorly financed, under-staffed colored Settlement,[6] or a more rare white Settlement which includes the colored in its program—the Settlement has given very little thought or attention to a problem which is growing in intensity each year, and which it will finally have to meet face to face.

From our observations, then, we find three factors which are altering and will continue to alter the composition of the Settlement neighborhoods, and will indicate a change and expansion in the Settlement program. They are namely, the decline of immigration, the sifting of the successful foreign born immigrant and his children out of the slum areas, leaving behind him an element of the population with a different set of problems, and the influx of the Negro. Granted that the Settlements will have to meet the new

[6] National Federation of Settlements, Directory of Settlements, September, 1935, shows only four all Negro Settlements.

needs of their neighborhood, either within their own organizations or through pointing the problem to stimulate public resources to meet the issue—what can we say of the future of the Settlements?

Settlements have not been laggards in facing the demands of a new day as regards their white neighbors, the Americanized children and grandchildren of immigrants. They have recognized the increasing leisure of this element of their neighborhoods, and have tried to expand their recreational and educational programs to give these people something to do with their spare time. They have thrown open their buildings at all hours to these people. They have invited them to use their gymnasiums, swimming pools, game rooms, and meeting rooms. They have organized all types of classes in adult education. They have shown a great willingness to use people sent to them on "made work" projects. They have been prime movers in the organization of workers' education groups and unemployment councils. They have given their wholehearted support to steps taken by the government to meet the problem of unemployed youth. Settlement staffs have fought for emergency education and college student aid programs. They have assisted in filling quotas of the Civilian Conservation Corps with the white youth of their neighborhoods. In all these ways, and many more, they have proved themselves to be flexible organizations very willing to recognize the new needs of their changing neighborhoods. However, it is not our purpose to go deeper into problems which Settlements do recognize, but, rather, to point a constantly growing problem, which Neighborhood Houses seem lax to face. That is the problem of meeting the needs of an ever-increasing Negro population in Settlement neighborhoods.

Let's face the issue! What are Settlements doing for the Negro in their neighborhoods? In most instances absolutely nothing. In some instances they are helping through free clinics of various types. In other instances, they are inviting Negroes to participate in a very meager activity program in which they are kept separate from the white members. Then, of course, there are a few Negro Settlements. And, finally, the very rare type of Settlement that is open to Negroes and whites without distinction.

An example of a Settlement helping the Negro in matters of health particularly, is the Irene Kaufmann Settlement located in the Hill District of Pittsburgh. Negroes are in constant attendance at various clinics held there. They are clients of social agencies quartered there. They secure milk from the city's milk station and attend the open air school. The personal service department of the organization has always been at the disposal of the Negro. Then, too, the Irene Kaufmann Settlement sponsors an annual Better Neighborhood Contest in which a great number of the Negroes in the community participate. The actual class groups of the organization, however, are for other racial groups. The membership of the organization is largely Jewish, and funds for the organization are obtained through the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of Pittsburgh.

The Soho Community House at 2358 Fifth Avenue in Pittsburgh serves as an illustration of a Settlement handling both Negroes and whites in a separate program. Separate social affairs are held for white and colored, as well as separate clubs. Play and recreation hours are not separated. There are no colored persons on the staff. Godman Guild in Columbus, Ohio, is another Settlement having separate programs for Negroes and whites.

Henry Street Settlement in New York City handles Negro children in mixed groups, and houses several all Negro adult groups. Negroes are also represented on all house councils. Scattered over the country, a small minority of the other Settlements handle Negroes in one of the above ways. Susan Parrish Wharton Memorial Settlement and Wissahicon Boys' Club in Philadelphia are two examples of organizations staffed by Negroes and carrying on a recreational program for only Negroes.

And now for an example of a real rarity, the Settlement that brings together Negro and white without distinction. Such a House is the Playhouse Settlement of Cleveland, Ohio. Let's study this Settlement from the discussion An Inter-Racial Settlement in Cleveland in the book *Negro-White Adjustment* by Paul E. Baker. "The Playhouse Settlement of Cleveland, Ohio, is located at 2238 East 38th Street in one of the most densely populated areas of Cleveland. The housing conditions there are very bad; disease, poverty, and ignorance combine to make the home and community social situation extremely difficult. The population of the neighborhood consists of mixed foreign and Negro groups, drawn from the laboring class of people; the groups most largely represented are Negro, Hebrew, Syrian, and Italian. Fifteen years ago the community was about twenty-five per cent Negro; at the present time the Negroes numerically predominate."

Mr. and Mrs. Russell W. Jeliffe are in charge of this Settlement. From the time they started work at this House, they brought together all national groups, including the Negro, in all the activities of the organization. The Settlement is particularly well known for its dramatics with both adults and children. Its adult dramatic group, known as the Gilpin

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Players, has acquired an almost national reputation. The Settlement also has a very fine creative art department. Its members are both colored and white. In all activities—the camp, athletic teams, club, playground—Negro and white children are freely mixed. The Settlement works under the principle that by bringing the children of the two races together at an early age, their racial attitudes can more easily be influenced. The staff of the organization is also composed of both races. The results of the work done by Playhouse Settlement have been outstanding, and certainly prove that the problem of mixing races in recreation can be solved.

It is interesting to note that in the deep South, where racial discrimination is particularly rife, some Settlements are working with mixed staffs, though handling only Negroes. An example is Bethlehem Center in Nashville, Tennessee. Miss Lillie M. Peck, secretary of the National Federation of Settlements, feels that these experiments are working out successfully. If this is possible in the South, we have every reason to assume that it might be carried over widely and with equal or greater success in the Northern and Eastern cities.

Granted that the attempt to include the Negro in recreation in the Settlement has been feeble except in rare instances such as those mentioned above, and assuming that the need to include him must be met, what can be done in the line of a broader program?

Let us consider first the future possibility of the "all colored" Settlement. Since community chests, welfare federations, and private philanthropies supporting Settlements are often sectarian and interested principally in the problems of the white group, we can assume that the "all black" Settlement would have to draw most of its support from its own

kind. That implies, of course, a wide awake interest on the part of the educated black group capable of organizing such a program for their own group. But, besides the indifference of the white group to Negro recreational needs, we can readily conceive of another reason for action on the part of the colored group. There are in every Negro community certain educated Negroes who are not only indifferent but actually hostile to advances on the part of the white group for their so-called "betterment" through white organized and administered agencies. These persons are interested in the upbuilding and preservation of a separate black culture, entirely distinct from the white culture. Their recreational ideal in the Settlement would be "Black recreation for the Black." With the spread of education among the Negroes and an increasing interest on their part in the advancement of their own race, it is not inconceivable to imagine cultured groups of Negroes organizing to do something along recreational lines for their own people in those cities with the most acute problems. But, if such self-conscious black groups were to agitate and organize their own recreation, their success in a broad program that would reach large numbers of their group would necessarily be limited by lack of resources. The colored group are for the most part a low-income group, sparsely represented in the professions and higher income businesses. More than that, we all know that with the coming of the depression, the Negro was the first to lose his job. We know that at the present time he is given little consideration by employment agencies. Large numbers have been forced to become objects of charity. Comparatively few, who could contribute toward a real Settlement recreation program, are left. Consequently, though we realize that a Negro Settlement growing

out of the interest of the group itself would serve a great need, and should be encouraged, it is a practical impossibility to conceive of this type of organization becoming very prevalent.

Recognizing this fact, there must be a growing determination among existing Settlements to do something about this new problem. As to the actual method of handling the problem it will necessarily differ in different organizations. Some groups may see their way clear to trying an experiment along the lines of Playhouse Settlement in Cleveland. Some may recognize the fact that their neighborhoods are almost solidly black and see a reason for becoming a Negro Settlement. Some may see a way of solving the problem through separate programs for the two races. These groups will have to find ways of eliminating the criticism of sectarian federations or individuals who indicate a desire for us to cater to particular groups to the exclusion of others. Some may feel it absolutely impossible to

handle the Negro within their own organization, and may see their function in terms of pointing the problem and stimulating other community resources to handle it. Some may want to try an entirely different method of working out the problem. We are not advocating any one program for dealing with the Negro, but merely pointing the problem as it stands, and imploring that it be faced. Each Settlement that has the colored in its neighborhood needs to set itself out to evaluate its own program and work out its own destiny in terms of its individual neighborhood. We can only mention examples of the way a few Settlements have risen to the occasion, and point to the need for further consciousness to the problem.

In concluding, we challenge the Settlement personnel with the question, "What Is The Settlement, the 'Champion of the Underprivileged,' the 'Committee of Welcome' to the Immigrant, Going To Do to Meet the Crying Needs of its Newest Neighbor—*The Negro?*"

THE GROUP WORK FIELD

A Professional Evaluation in Terms of a Summary of Aims, Principles, and Types of Group Work*

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IN ATTEMPTING a professional evaluation of aims, principles, and types of group work, one might begin with the definition offered by Henry M. Busch in his book, *Leadership in Group Work*. "Group work commonly connotes an educational process carried on in leisure time under the auspices of a social

agency, for the purpose of aiding individuals in a group to acquire knowledge, skills, and attitudes, or to conduct activities that are constructively recreational in character."[1] Or, as evolved by a student in a course on Leadership in Group Work—"Group work is an activity which aims towards socialization of the individual through normal and

[1] Henry M. Busch, *Leadership in Group Work*, New York: Association Press, 1934, p. 1.

satisfying purposeful group activities, in which membership is voluntary, and which will help to develop personality, encourage emotionally sound, effective social relationships, enable the person to orient himself better in his society and tend to teach the customs, patterns and principles on which society is organized."

This second definition, of course, demands elucidation of the concept, socialization. Professor E. S. Bogardus says socialization is "the process of working together, and of developing group responsibility." It is "a genuine and wholesome identification of a person with the welfare of other persons, of his own groups, and of other groups."[2] It preserves individual uniqueness, stimulates inventiveness, and results in "personal enrichment and expansion."[3] It would seem that the essence of social group work lies in socialization which points in two directions—to society and to the person. Group work seeks: (1) to help the person fit into a group through learning how to get along with people, and to make a contribution to the welfare of the whole; and (2) to help the person himself find life more satisfying through his own growth and achievement. Briefly, the central aim of group work is to promote the social development of persons through participation in a common, shared activity.

The theory of group work is that in the interaction of the members of the circle, be it large or small, there is found the social process with its many phases; namely; mental interaction, communication, invention, coöperation, and socialization. The bases of organization are found in those individual drives which are characteristic of us all—the will to

[2] *Sociology.* New York: Macmillan, 1934, pp. 80-81.

[3] E. S. Bogardus, *Fundamentals of Social Psychology*, New York, Century Co., 1924, p. 229.

function, to do, to act; the wish to be with others of our kind; to share with our peers; to compete with them; to achieve individually; to reach towards the company of our superiors; and to find a status that flatters even our partiality for ourselves.

AIMS

The aims of group work are defined in various social values such as character-education; personal adjustment; morale and emotional balance; recreation and good times; prevention of delinquency; the achievement through friendships and acquired status of a certain emotional and social security; some help in avocational and vocational choices; a scale of socially acceptable values to serve as a personal-social code; and a socially-minded attitude towards one's fellowmen. These are some of the more obvious possible aims, but I think we must probe more deeply.

Dr. Charles H. Cooley has said that maturity is evidenced in an ability to identify ourselves with larger and larger wholes. Miss Mabel Cratty the former Executive of the National Board of the Y. W. C. A., tells of an outstanding leader who never saw things *locally*. Isn't one aim of group work to help the person extend himself beyond the narrow limits of an economic group or of any special interest and find those fundamental values that transcend any self-centered affiliation and which, as a matter of fact, underlie all constructive movements, could we but strip away the emotional biases that blind and separate us? I am coming to believe that one of the most serious obstacles to progress lies in the vested interests which each of us have in our fancied place and in the rights we belligerently assume belong to that place. Consequently, we find it difficult to see any situation as a whole and to fit ourselves into it. We

are more apt to see ourselves and our special interests, *first*, no matter what they are, no matter whether we are at the top or the bottom of the scale or somewhere in between, and then to relate other things to ourselves and our concerns, particularly our economic concerns, and more especially our jobs.

Certainly in group work one aim is discovered in the opportunity to establish larger loyalties on a positive basis, not to tear down but to build towards common ends. The various group work agencies organized on a national scale will illustrate this point. The local units are linked consciously with county, state, national and even international units of the same kind. There is a certain thrill that comes in the interchange of courtesies, experiences, and knowledge. The same goal, that is, larger loyalties transcending the lesser loyalty of the immediate group organization, is sought in any interclub activities—athletic, academic, or social.[4]

We talk much about leadership as a goal in group work. We have few tests to measure our accomplishments. If we accept the sociological definition that leadership is a process of influencing others to accept new values or to reaffirm belief in old ones, then leadership is seen to shift, on occasion, inevitably from the obvious and accepted leadership to the more retiring followers. To the group workers, leadership does not mean standing at the top of the heap like a statue on a pedestal; it means insight to recognize ability, to stimulate its expressions, to give the different members a chance to occupy the limelight, and to focus group activity along specific lines, group-determined and group-accepted.

[4] Bessie A. McClenahan, *The Changing Urban Neighborhood*. University of Southern California, L.A., 1928, pp. 103–112.

One possible aim is frequently overlooked. We speak of leisure time, of *wise* use of increasing leisure. But have we inquired the way to make it, "leisure?" We dash about madly. We are obsessed with, shall I say, a mild insanity of "busyness." Recently, I inquired in friendly fashion of a woman, "Well, how does it go?" Her answer quite overwhelmed me. She waved her hands around and said in an agitated manner, "Oh, I'm so busy I don't know what to do. I have done this and that and still I can't see the end of things." Isn't one aim the appreciation of leisure and the acquiring of some repose? Must we carry over into our leisure the wild tempo of our characteristic intensity and tenseness?

Group work through helping people acquire the art of enjoying life, provides personal resources which may fill idle hours and keep the person happy even when he is alone. It can foster, as can no other social instrumentality, the creative urge in all of us, whether expressed in clay or paint, in pudding or newly designed and stitched frock. It can make us acquainted with the best the community has to offer in manners, traditions and customs, art, literature, architecture, and philosophy. Again, we see the possibility of helping the persons provide for themselves happy occupations that counteract the mad rush in search of "the crowd," bright lights and gaudy diversions.

Another value to be sought in group work is the acquisition by every member of a certain sense of dignity growing out of the discovery that he is a human being in his own right, not valuable only as a member of a family, or of a club, or even of a community, but even as himself to himself. Such an attitude leads to dignity in human relationships and a respect for the normal barriers that limit casual in-

timacies and cheap, physical contacts. Group work makes possible the acquaintance of men and women under wholesome conditions. Especially in the city is this need evidenced in loneliness and unhappiness.

Finally, organized group activity under professional leadership gives the members opportunity to discover a philosophy of life and a set of principles and *to act* upon their own discovered principles and values in practical and immediate fashion, not merely to talk about them in a half-interested manner.

PRINCIPLES

It is extremely difficult to choose which of the principles underlying group work should be presented here. However, the first basic principle, it seems to me, is that group work must take cognizance of the present changed and changing social situation. The decline of the traditional neighborhood has thrown into relief the differentiated groups of interest-circles, often without attachment to a locality, especially among older adolescents and adults. These groups meet wherever it is convenient. They are held together not by residence in a common locale or loyalty to place, but only by the common interest. As a consequence, they operate without reference to the values of any primary group or its controls. The members frequently know each other only in the one relationship. As a result, any form of voluntary organization designed to promote and conserve the primary social ideals must provide an outlet for the various interests and abilities of the members. The concrete plan must provide for *decentralization* of individual participation and *centralization* for the development of a larger community loyalty. It should develop both personal and social integrity. "Ethics is not a separate prob-

lem of group activity. Ethical quality must pervade every activity if character values are to result."[5]

The second principle is that developed leadership, one of the aims of group work, should find sufficient and satisfying opportunities. What happens to the leadership we so fondly believe we are helping to develop? To what extent is the group work field organized to make possible progressive steps of achievement? So many groups are limited in interest, for example, clubs for adolescents. Why isn't it possible for all of the group work agencies of a community to join in the organization of a plan to make use of developed leaders in other groups or plan for the graduation of new leaders into civic organizations, women's clubs, men's service clubs, etc? So much leadership is lost because it wearies of one connection or outgrows it and longs for new fields to conquer. Is that because our programs do not keep up with the growth of the members, or is it because of the innate drive of men for new experience?

The third principle follows. Membership and continuing participation are dependent upon the attitude of the participant toward the group activity. He will be active only so long as he believes in the purposes of the group and personally feels he is receiving a return commensurate with the time, energy, and money he has expended. Very often the person does not reason it out; he simply *feels* it, and would be inarticulate if one should ask him why he has dropped out. Therefore the social agency and the group worker must reexamine the program and the opportunities offered for individual participation. Participation is wholesome and morale-building in itself. Having everything done for any person tends to be destructive of initiative and individual functioning.

[5] Henry M. Busch, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

The fourth principle relates to administration. The group worker should be professionally trained not only in techniques but in an underlying social philosophy. "A generation habituated to specialization and professionalism will not be content to accept mediocrity in the leadership-performance of the representative of a social agency."[6] There should also be provided attractive surrounding with an opportunity for a feeling of ownership in, and responsibility for, the meeting place or club room. It is not necessary that furnishings or equipment be expensive and elaborate. They should be inviting and as artistic as skill and ingenuity can make them. Budgeting is a *sine qua non*. The group worker will apply budgeting to time, in terms of the completion of programs, and of the interest span of the members; in terms of costs of projects; and in terms of the financial situation of the members.

The fifth principle is that groups and membership must not be exploited for the benefit of the agency sponsoring them. The group activity and membership in it should be worth while in themselves and not valued merely to increase the membership of the agency or to serve as publicity agents demonstrating to the public possible unique and spectacular achievements. Nor should the group serve possible ego-centered drives of the group worker through a type of internal organization permitting dominance of the worker and dependence of the participants. The group worker needs a socialized personality that avoids certain emotional attitudes towards the members. (1) The possessive attitude illustrated in expressions, "*My* club," "*My* program," etc. Getting things done because the leader asks it, choosing leaders in the group

because of their emotional attachment to the worker. (2) The maternal attitude, protective, shielding members from hard tasks; or (3) the paternalistic, making decisions "for the good of the group," without consulting the members as to their wishes. Any group represents a process of interaction and the group worker with professional training has a respononsibility for keeping the activity on a constructive level.

The sixth and last principle is the oft-repeated one that the individual must be considered and not be lost in the mass. The demonstration of this principle is found in the adaptation of social casework methods in group work. From the point of view of the writer, social case work and social group work represent techniques which are complementary and supplementary rather than antagonistic and exclusive. Social case work emphasizes the individual approach to the solution of personal or social problems. The social caseworker deals with people in trouble, one person or one family at a time. Social group work centers its efforts on a group, that is, several persons associated together for some joint purposes, on group organization and on group activities. He works with people, not one by one, but with them as members of a fellowship such as a club or a class or a mass activity in a festival, a neighborhood or block party, a community pageant.

While the method of approach is different, the goals or purposes of the social case worker and the social group worker are identical. Both are seeking to promote the personal adjustment and socialization of the person. The social case worker aims to understand and to interpret the needs of the client (the person or family) with the object of developing such powers of self-adjustment as will enable him to solve his own problems. Through

[6] *Ibid*, p. 8.

the use of the social resources of the community, attempt is made to strengthen the best qualities of the individual and to maintain the integrity of family life. The group worker is interested in bringing about better individual adjustment through the person's participation in a group activity. He seeks to help the person find himself in relation to other people and to share in a growing *esprit de corps*, group loyalty, and social responsibility. The social case worker endeavors to help the person fit into the groups to which he normally belongs and uses the club or class as one method for training the client in group participation. At this point the social case worker falls back upon the group worker since it is the latter who is responsible for the conduct of the group. The group leader through his skill is stimulating joint activity, but he must at the same time appreciate to some degree the needs of the individual members.

The relationship of the person to the social worker varies in line with the difference in technique. The client seeks the case work agency in time of crisis, asking for help of some kind. The boy or girl, man or woman, comes to the group work agency for good times, for friends, for association, for occupation in leisure time. The client of the case work agency has encountered a situation which he cannot master, which has defeated him, or which he fears will defeat him. He is struggling for and towards release from handicaps of one sort or another and the procedure of help starts from the handicaps. Participation in a group program grows out of the primary gregarious desires to belong and to share. The group worker capitalizes on these drives and leads through the social experience to expansion of the self, to positive social

adjustment, and to the personal satisfactions of achievement.

What are the practical guides for co-operative relationships between the social case worker and the group worker? In the first place, each needs to understand something of the details of each other's techniques and of each other's terminology. Out of this knowledge is possible a clearer appreciation of the contributions and the limitations of each type of service and consequently the recognition of the importance and even necessity of an exchange of services. Each should be a resource to the other. One of the proofs of a professional attitude is the frank recognition of the limits of one's own skill. So when the group worker observes a problem of personal maladjustment whose roots strike deep in personality organization and the social situation, he will turn unerringly to the social case worker and ask that the latter assume responsibility for making a case study and recommendations for social treatment or even in many, if not most, cases for the carrying out of that treatment. And when a social case worker discovers a client out of step with his community, disconnected from group contacts, he will unerringly draw upon the group worker as a resource and introduce his client to the group worker for opportunity to find himself through a group activity. The present day trend is clearly in the direction of a closer drawing together of social case work and social group work, social case work agencies recognizing the value of a group worker consultant, and group work agencies employing social case workers as advisers and as specialists in social treatment.

Busch reminds us that "group work is becoming more significant in modern life as leisure time increases, and as the rôle of group work in informal education is

appreciated."[7] Group work becomes essential in a time of economic and social crisis as a conserver of morale, and as a social device through which the person may achieve and retain a sense of usefulness. Honest, that is, real participation in a group that is carrying on an effective program, one that gives concrete evidence to the members of accomplishment that reflect their own values; and democratic control and management, not indulgently and patronizingly *granted* to the group by the professional staff or the board of management, but coöperatively developed along with kindred groups, offer opportunity for the development of personal character and of a sane and balanced social and economic philosophy.

[7] *Ibid*, p. 1.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

Social work will pass in review the week of May 24 to 30 when the National Conference of Social Work will hold its 63rd Annual Meeting in Atlantic City, N. J.

With more than three hundred individual sessions already scheduled, the program will cover all phases of social work from current security and welfare problems to technical aspects of the profession, according to Howard R. Knight, general secretary of the Conference. Approximately fifty other social work organizations—most of them national in scope—will meet in Atlantic City during Conference week as Associate Groups.

Bringing together professional social workers from all parts of the United States and Canada as well as men and women from related fields, volunteer workers and others interested in the affairs of human welfare, the Annual Meeting is expected to attract several thousand persons, Mr. Knight said.

Besides five general sessions, the program is divided into four sections and seven special committees. The general sessions will include the Presidential address of Monsignor Robert F. Keegan on "Democracy at the Crossroads;" Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia of New York and Edith Abbott, dean of the School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, on "Public Welfare and Politics;" Professor Parker T. Moon of Columbia on "International Peace and the Common Good;" President Harold W. Dodds of Princeton on "Government and the Common Welfare" and Dr. Solomon Lowenstein, executive vice-president of the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies of New York City, on "National Security—What Price?"

Selecting speakers and program subjects to meet every taste should prove a simple matter for those who attend the Atlantic City meeting. The four Conference sections will cover: Social Case Work, Social Group Work, Community Organization and Social Action. The special committees will deal with: the American Indian, the Current Relief Situation, Institutional Treatment and After Care of the Juvenile Delinquent, Public Welfare Personnel, Social Aspects of Public Housing and Social Treatment of Crime.

Monsignor Keegan who, besides being President of the National Conference of Social Work is executive director of Catholic Charities of New York, characterized the Atlantic City meeting as one of the most important in Conference history.

"The fact," he said, "that planned welfare work in America is touching a high point in achievement, that social security has been pulled from the hazy lofts of ideology into the prospects of reality, that current practice is erasing haphazard trial and error, emphasizes this point. Much has been done—a great deal remains to be accomplished."

The National Conference reports excellent meeting facilities and hotel accommodations for its purposes in Atlantic City. Conference headquarters will be in the Atlantic City Convention Hall, which accommodates twenty sessions simultaneously. The Ambassador has been selected as headquarters hotel.

SINO-AMERICAN MISCEGENATION IN SHANGHAI

HERBERT DAY LAMSON

University of Maine

THE degree of social isolation and approach between different groups in the social pyramid or in inter-ethnic relationships can be judged in part by noting the presence or absence of freedom for inter-group marriage, and the attitudes of the groups toward such mating. While in Shanghai interracial fusion is not a good index of intercultural fusion, yet the status of interracial mating reveals a good deal about the native-alien group relationships. In this article I shall consider the Sino-American social approach through mating.

MATINGS BETWEEN ALIEN MEN AND NATIVE WOMEN

Shanghai was formally opened as a port for foreign trade November 17, 1843, as a result of the British victory over China in the so-called "Opium War." As in so many other far-away places, there was a preponderance of alien males among the white communities with the result that native-alien mating took place with or without benefit of ceremony. It was the practice for some of the American traders to have native "housekeepers" who were mistresses or common-law wives who tended to the various wants of such aliens. In some of the early consular records which I have examined for the

1850's and 1860's there are references to such native wives as "housekeeper of so-and-so," or as "a Canton girl kept by an American." One American in his will left some property to "Alyn, a Chinese lady who has lived with me for some years past." Those men who did not have such housekeeper-mistresses usually had native "boys" to manage their domestic establishments, in the absence of white women. Although there is no way of knowing how common this practice was, we shall be able to present figures of a somewhat later period for the *registered* marriages.

In this practice of taking native women as mistresses and still retaining standing in the foreign community we catch a glimpse of the miscegenation which so often takes place on the frontiers of an advancing civilization. Of this the "ostensible bachelor" is symptomatic. Shanghai represents such a frontier in which, in the earlier decades when white women were less numerous, the mores of the home country were modified to meet the exigencies of the situation brought about by frontier conditions, including a disparity of the sexes.[1]

In examining the American consular

[1] For an account of a similar situation see E. L. Hedin, "The Anglo-Indian Community," *Amer. Jour. Sociology*, 40, (1934), 165.

records at Shanghai for evidence of marriages between Americans and Asiatics I found that between 1879 and 1909 inclusive there were registered 221 marriages. In 34 cases, 15.4 per cent, the wife was an Asiatic. Of the latter, in eight cases, the woman was a Japanese. In those three decades no case is recorded of an American woman marrying an Asiatic man. The occupations of the 34 men marrying Asiatic women were given as: mariner 11; police 2; sailor 2; customs clerk 3; engineer 1; missionary 1; not stated 14.[2]

We cannot take these figures as any indication of the total number of American-Asiatic unions, for there were doubtless many which were never registered as formal marriages. It is significant that no American women were recorded as having married Asiatics. In those decades there were always more white men than white women and no white woman needed to go outside her own racial group for a mate. In fact, there were then very few single business and professional women as there are to-day in Shanghai. There were a few unmarried missionary women who sometimes married missionaries or business men among their own race, but not always within their own nationality. Daughters of missionaries furnished wives for a number of British and American business men.

For the period of nine years, 1910 to 1918 inclusive, there were recorded at the Shanghai American Consulate 202 marriages of which in 18 cases the woman was Asiatic, 8.9 per cent. In 1910 the one man who married a Chinese was stated to have been born in the Philippine Islands and therefore may have been a Filipino. In 1917, in addition to the four white

Americans who wed Asiatics, one Chinese with American citizenship married a woman of the same racial and national status. Of the 18 mixed marriages, the woman was in six cases Japanese, in eleven cases Chinese, and in one case a Filipino. In this period there was no case recorded of a white American woman marrying an Asiatic.[3]

There were registered for the period 1920-21-22, 217 marriages, and for the period 1930-31-32, 236, a total of 453 marriages. In only one case did an American white woman marry an Asiatic, a Filipino. In ten cases, 2.2 per cent, the wives were Chinese or Japanese. This is a smaller proportion for Asiatics than that for the earlier decades. There is no reason to suppose that fewer marriages failed to be registered in the later period. There has been an increase in white women. Especially is it to be noted that for the white American man of relatively low economic status, such as sailors, marines, low-paid customs employees, Russian women have become available as the Russian population of the two foreign-controlled areas, the French Concession and the International Settlement, has jumped from 324 in 1910 to 1,476 in 1920, and to 7,366 in 1930. Many of the Russians are in a rather low economic position and have thus become available as white-race wives for the lower-paid ranks of the white Americans and other European nationalities. Many of these women are personally attractive, serve as cabaret entertainers and dancing partners, and have in a measure cut out the Asiatic and Eurasian as wives and mistresses. Even if we should include as Asiatics the Eurasian and Portuguese women (many of whom have Asiatic blood) in our Asiatic total, it would only bring the

[2] U. S. Consular Archives, Shanghai, *Consular and Mixed Court Archives*, No. 28, *Register of Marriages Feb. 5, 1879–Jan. 12, 1909.*

[3] U. S. Consular Archives, Shanghai, *Consular and Mixed Court Archives*, No. 29.

figure to 19, or 4.2 per cent of the total marriages registered.

To analyze the figures still further, if we take from the total registered marriages for the six years (453) the cases of Chinese with American nationality and Filipinos, we have left 437 marriages. Of these there were 208 non-American brides and 51 non-American grooms. Subtracting the 51 non-American grooms we have left out of 437 a residue of 386 American grooms. Of these 386 men, 208, or 54 per cent, married non-American women. Out of 437 brides, 208 were non-American, leaving 229 white American women of whom 51, or 22.3 per cent, married non-Americans. Of the non-American brides of white American men in the 1920-21-22 group, Russians comprised 45.2 per cent; and of the 1930-31-32 group, 62.1 per cent. Of the non-American brides of American men in the 1920-21-22 group, British women comprised 28.6 per cent, and in the 1930-31-32 group, 12.1 per cent. On this same basis Asiatics (Chinese and Japanese) comprised 3.6 per cent in the 1920 group and 5.6 per cent in the 1930 group. Of the 51 white American women marrying non-Americans, 36, or 71 per cent, married Britons; five, nearly 10 per cent, married Russian men.

These figures show that those of our American ethnic group who do marry in Shanghai prefer the "white" race to the "yellow." Russian women have increased in favor and British have decreased relatively. Unfortunately in the statistics furnished by the U. S. Consulate for the 1920 and 1930 groups, the occupation of the man is not given in each case; as a result it is impossible to determine how great a factor the American Marine and the U. S. Navy men are in this rapid rise in the Russian figures, and in the slight increase from 1920 to 1930 in

Asiatic wives. Since the American Marines came first in 1927, it is quite likely that these service men do play a considerable part.

One American woman in speaking of a fellow-national who had married a Chinese woman in his younger days said, "Think how he must suffer to think of his own grandchildren going back into the native group." In this expression there is reflected that sense of loyalty to and continuity of one's own racial and familial group. Patterns of happy family life involving children and grandchildren are disrupted in this woman's mind by seeing a white man's grandchildren brought up as Chinese (by his Eurasian son who married a Chinese). Here is a transference from one relatively closed group to another with highly disparate qualities—a circulation from one race to another in two generations which borders on "treason." Furthermore, since this highly respected American's children "look more Chinese than they do foreign" there is a feeling of calamity at losing the prized possessions of one's racial distinguishing marks.

In another case, an American journalist of Jewish faith married in Shanghai a Chinese woman who had resided for many years in England. This man writing of his experiences with a mixed marriage said of white prejudice against Chinese:

Even when the foreigner found it advantageous and necessary to associate with the Chinese socially, he still continued his prejudices. The result is that in such a mixed marriage as ours the social relationships tend to be limited to the wife's people. In the husband, resentment grows against the discrimination and condescension which he sees frequently manifested toward her people. Old friendships are broken over this issue. Men with whom one has associated become mere business acquaintances, because social contacts cannot be carried over to their wives. More and more the man finds himself tied

to his wife's people. Her interests and her social group become his.[4]

The Chinese friends of the Chinese wife in this mixed union were more willing to tolerate a foreigner socially than the white friends of the white husband were willing to tolerate his Chinese wife socially. Thus the couple, although the wife was partly foreign in her cultural background, found themselves isolated from alien groups and forced toward less exclusive Chinese social life. Furthermore, the fact that this was a *mixed* marriage tended to keep the whites from being too friendly with the couple in order not to give the impression that they sanctioned that sort of mating. A single high-type individual of either group might be accepted socially for his own sake but would not be invited freely with an out-group wife. Estrangement developed between the white group and one of its members who had committed an act which the group disliked and which it was determined to resist with all the social weapons at its command.

INTERMARRIAGE BETWEEN CHINESE RETURNED STUDENTS AND FOREIGN WOMEN

We now turn to a more distinctly modern phenomenon of Chinese highly educated returned students who bring back with them to China European or American wives. There is no way of knowing just how extensive this practice is. But there seem to be small groups for several of the leading European nations,— England, France, Germany, as well as the United States, and a few from other Western countries. The writer knows personally of a half-dozen such couples in which the wife is a white American. In

[4] G. E. Sokolsky, "My Mixed Marriage," *Atlantic Monthly*. Aug., 1933, p. 142.

general it may be said that such mixed couples tend to form small social groups by themselves, not entirely isolated, but distinctly feeling the marginality of their position, being not entirely at home in either the alien or the native groups. For the most part such couples are married abroad, not in Shanghai. The offspring take the nationality of the father. However, an American woman does not necessarily lose her American citizenship by marrying a non-American, and a non-American woman does not gain American citizenship merely by marrying an American man.

Numerically the Chinese returned student with a foreign wife constitutes as a class a very small proportion of the returned-student group, and likewise a very small proportion of that national group from which the wife originated. It can hardly be said that these interracial marriages lessen the social isolation between the native and alien groups, for while many individuals, both Chinese and alien, may be friendly to such a mixed couple, there is a definite restraint which is felt on both sides. The alien wives of Chinese tend to be very sensitive about the matter and some lean over backwards in defending the Chinese and making it appear that they did the right thing in marrying the man they did. It came to the writer's notice that at an informal gathering of a few of the alien wives of Chinese returned students at the home of one of them, there was present one American woman whose husband was white American. One of the women having a Chinese husband said to her in introducing some topic of conversation, "Of course you're not one of the inner circle . . ." meaning the circle of those having Chinese husbands. This same woman said further, "The other day as I was going along Avenue Joffre I saw several dirty, disgusting, drunken, Russian

men, and I said to myself, 'I'm glad I married a Chinese.' "

Since in Shanghai a good deal of the conversation on the part of aliens has to do with traits of the Chinese (and in a similar fashion the Chinese when by themselves discuss the foibles of the aliens), when a member of the out-group is present, or when a member of one's own group who has married a member of the out-group is present, there is not the freedom to express oneself about the out-group as when only members of the in-group are present. An American woman who has married a Chinese is of course an alien to the Chinese group and has become, by marrying a Chinese, a type of out-group person to her own group. She is marginal, and, having little in common with other marginal Eurasian groups in the city, finds it difficult to feel completely at home in any. She is a slight ripple on the surface of the sea of Chinese: her husband is Chinese; her children look more Asiatic than European; such children are Chinese by nationality; if the American mother of such children desires to send them to the Shanghai American School, she is not allowed to do so since no Chinese other than those holding American citizenship are considered as pupils in that school.

American and other Western girls who in their respective nations become acquainted with Chinese students and fall in love with them do so in part because the Oriental man has adopted to a considerable extent, at least while he is abroad, Western customs of dress, language, etiquette, education, and sometimes religion. If he retained his native costume and ways and did not "go Western" he probably would not attract the attention of Western girls as a possible friend. In other words, because the student changes the more obvious elements of his traditional culture in the direction of Western culture, he to some extent breaks through the isolation which would otherwise be greater and would tend to separate him from social life and the society of young women.

It might be objected that since the American girls, for example, who fall in love with Chinese students constitute a very small minority of girls who come into contact with such students, these girls are breaking away from *their* own national taboos concerning interracial marriage. This is true, they are "different" in this respect, yet as far as the cultures associated with the two races are concerned, the respresentative of the yellow group has changed his traditional culture more than the representative of the white group has changed hers. She *retains* her language, dress, religion, etiquette, housekeeping arrangements, whereas she *changes* chiefly in the field of the taboos regarding racial outgroup friendship and marriage. When she arrives in China she will also have to adapt herself to some extent to the traditional Chinese family system, for although the returned student whom she has married may retain his alien dress, manners, and speech in her presence, he may not be able to break away from traditional demands upon him from family members. Upon his return to his own country he becomes not an exotic transplanted individual in a foreign country, with a certain mysterious lure of the "unknown East" about him, but just one of thousands of other returned students and millions of fellow-nationals. He is a member of a Chinese family which, in spite of his cultural changes, the direction of which is alienward, still has a powerful hold upon him, through living members and through habits and attitudes inculcated in childhood.

Chinese custom insists that this young

man who has married a foreign wife is still a member of the "group of orientation," thus the alien wife will have to endure more interference from his relatives than the Chinese wife of a foreigner has to endure from the kinsmen of the latter. If such an alien wife lives in the interior of China and with her native husband's family, she will probably have a much more difficult lot than if she dwells with her husband as a small family unit in some large port or river city. In some cases when the student has been married under the old-style plan in his youth, the foreign wife may be considered by his family as just a concubine.[5]

If conditions for such a foreign wife become intolerable she may secure an independent livelihood by teaching or other work. In extreme cases, if she is willing to swallow her pride, her fellow-countrymen in China may help to send her back to her own country where she will have to face the "I told you so's" of those who advised against this mixed marriage in the first place.

Regarding the social discrimination against such a wife in Shanghai, an Eurasian woman stated, "The British especially are suspicious of Chinese who come back with foreign wives, because they know that Chinese marry early and that probably most Chinese who go abroad have already been married to some girl back home and that if they receive and entertain the foreign woman they may be entertaining only a mistress. They are very careful about that. This is what a British woman once told me." While this may be in part a rationalization, yet a similar objection was formerly made by some white women against entertaining the Chinese wives of native officials since the latter practiced polygyny.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 140.

Alien women never felt certain as to whether the woman who accompanied the official was his wife or a concubine. Here was a situation of isolation fostered by conflicting family mores.

The usual reaction of Americans in Shanghai toward an American woman who comes out married or engaged to a Chinese, no matter how refined and educated he may be, is, "Why did she marry him, could she not find a good American at home?" Another expression heard is "It isn't fair to their children." Instead of welcoming such matings as potential agencies in the reduction of native-alien social and psychological distance, the tendency is to condemn them as unwise especially in view of the existing prejudice against "half-caste" offspring, and the adaptation which the American wife will have to make to the Chinese family system. American women in Shanghai, in so far as they happen to know of such marriages, tend to ask, "Are they really happy?" and to watch for any signs of unahppiness on the part of the American wife which will allow the onlookers to say with diabolic self-satisfaction, "There, I told you so!"

Because of the prejudice against interracial marriages, and the offspring of such unions, sometimes a high-class Chinese with his alien wife may not be invited socially to the home of foreigners as freely as if that same Chinese were married to an educated Chinese woman, because embarrassment and the sense of an invisible wall is present in such relationships even more persistently than when the guests are both Chinese. To be frankly of the outgroup, but possessing some alien cultural elements, creates an easier social situation than to be marginal, striding both groups but with an insecure position in each.

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toward the fellow-national who comes out as the wife of a native which is akin to that toward the traitor or disloyal member of any group. This woman has broken the "united front" of the alien group against the native. She has in a sense insulted her own racial and national group by not confining her marital choice to one of its members. While some Chinese heartily disapprove of such unions, yet to some it gives a feeling of satisfaction in that it helps to raise their group in its own estimation, because the native is sensitive to foreign criticism, and if a foreign woman in America is willing to marry "one of our Chinese men" then this very fact is an admission on the part of the foreigner that there are admirable qualities in the Chinese which certain alien women have not been able to resist.

There is on the part of some Chinese students in Shanghai, especially those who are more modern, a willingness to approve of interracial marriage theoretically as an instrument in the breakdown of racial and national prejudice. The present generation of college students has been affected by Western ideas of romance, in part intensified by Hollywood films, and some tend to hold that "love conquers all," even racial boundaries. The few Chinese who have returned from foreign countries with alien wives form a part of this pattern. On the other hand, the students' intense patriotism conflicts with the modernity of interracial marriage based on romantic love. On the campus of an American college in Shanghai an American woman married a Chinese returned student to whom she had become engaged in the United States. The wedding was held out of doors and many Chinese students witnessed the simple but impressive ceremony. One boy who disapproved wrote, "Dr. —— and Miss —— married this

evening. Personally I don't agree with such kind of inter-race marriage. Reasons: (1) American girls use more money than Chinese; (2) A man who marries an American woman usually forgets his own country. However, their marriage ceremony is simple, a desirable thing now in China."

This comment upon the simplicity of the ceremony in contrast to the elaborateness of the old-style Chinese wedding is typical of the remarks made by many students who witnessed the short rite performed by a Quaker missionary. This desire on the part of many Chinese to imitate foreign simplicity and to revise the traditional rites is a part of the acculturation process. There is a genuine revolt against over-ceremoniousness especially because of the cost which accompanies the elaborate customs. On the part of some Chinese with Western knowledge the writings of foreign biologists, who point out the benefits to racial vitality from the mixture of diverse racial stocks, play some part in a tolerant attitude toward such Chinese-foreign mixture. [6]

Philip Wittenberg in the article "Miscegenation" in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*[7] states that the Roman Catholic Church in its desire to keep all social relationships within the control of the church has been led to condone and even to encourage mixed marriages so as to diminish the illicit relationships which would otherwise flourish. He adds that the Catholic position has been to a large extent adopted by modern Protestant missionaries. As far as the latter are concerned in Shanghai I do not believe that it can be said that they have adopted any policy of encouraging mixed marriages. We have instances of American

[6] See editorial "On Mixed Marriage," *China Critic*, (Shanghai) Feb. 27, 1930, p. 196.
[7] Vol. 10, p. 531.

and British Protestant missionaries performing the marriage ceremony of "whites" and "yellows" even though they do not personally approve of or encourage such matches in general. An American missionary who had performed a number of such marriages as well as of whites to Eurasians said in an interview, "If you ever have to give advice, advise foreign girls not to marry Chinese, and advise foreign men not to marry Chinese. I say this because of the social position of the children who are not received wholeheartedly in Shanghai. . . . When the marriage is part European and part Asiatic there is a wall, things are not quite free."

One chaplain of the U. S. Navy attached to the Fourth Regiment U. S. Marine Corps at Shanghai felt more strongly about miscegenation on the part of his men. He said, "I am not going to approve of the marriage of our men to Asiatics of *any* kind no matter what the class. I am from the South where we don't want intermarriage between whites and blacks to get a 'high yaller,' and out here I don't propose to be instrumental in raising a batch of Eurasian!"

When asked whether, if all requirements had been fulfilled in such a case, he would consent to perform the ceremony, he replied emphatically, "No!" This does not mean that someone else might not do so. A service man has to obtain the consent of his commanding officer before he can be legally married in Shanghai. There is no absolute rule that a service man may not marry an Asiatic. All proposed brides are carefully investigated before consent is given by the officers.

In spite of the alleged cosmopolitan nature of Shanghai, and because our American ethnic group would be classed as one of the "commercial and administrative groups in colonial lands distinct racially from the native population, failing to intermarry with the latter,"[8] the usual factors which are operative in American cities,—"the propinquity which develops personal associations that do violence to the traditional stereotypes that inhibit social relations leading to marriage,"[9]—do not exist in Shanghai as intensively as they do in American cities. The cosmopolitanism of Shanghai is not the same as the cosmopolitanism of Chicago. The direction of culture change in the latter tends to be *nativeward*, whereas that in Shanghai predominanly *alienward*. This makes a great difference in the results of cosmopolitanism. Furthermore, the system of exterritoriality and the sense of being culturally superior are factors tending to uphold traditions of alien aloofness. A weakness of some discussions of urban life is that "cosmopolitanism" is treated as if it were always to be found in the same pattern and invariably had the same effects upon residents of all cities of the world.

SUMMARY

(1) Sino-American miscegenation is *not* an important factor in improving native-alien social relationships in Shanghai.

(2) Mixed matings are more common under pioneer and frontier conditions involving a preponderance of alien males over females, than later when there is a substantial body of alien women.

(3) Under such pioneer conditions miscegenation occurs preponderantly through males of the dominant and females of the subordinate group.

(4) Men of the American community legally marrying native women tend to be of the lower economic groups among the aliens.

[8] B. J. Stern, "Intermarriage," *Encylopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 8, p. 154.
[9] *Ibid.*

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(5) Over the period of nine decades as an open port there seems to have been a falling off in the proportion of native-alien matings. This is probably due to an increase in alien females, including in the last two decades the Russians.

(6) White American women who marry in Shanghai marry out of their own nationality group less frequently than white American men.

(7) In the last two decades with the growth of the returned-student class, the number of white women with native husbands has increased. Most of such matings, however, occur abroad, not in Shanghai. This suggests that,

(8) For a woman of a higher economic culture to see an alien of high type, but from a low economic country, in *her own* civilization, many of the traits of which the alien adopts, is more likely to lead to friendship and marriage than for her actually to be living in that low economic nation and seeing the same type of individual in *his* native cultural milieu.

(9) Alien wives of native students brought back to China from abroad are not freely accepted socially *with their husbands* by either parent group in Shanghai. By bridging the racial barriers and breaking traditional taboos these individuals tend to be forced into a peripheral position. Such couples symbolize conspicuously the accomplishment of a racial fusion of which neither parent group wholly approves.

CONFERENCE ON TEACHING MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill July 6-10 is holding a second Conference on Teaching Marriage and the Family. The program includes round tables on the techniques in teaching high school and college courses, discussion of some of the more important problems of marriage and domestic experience and information giving addresses by specialists in medicine, psychology, sociology, and family education. Address Ernest R. Groves, Chapel Hill, for program and Mr. T. H. Evans, Cashier, University of North Carolina, for information regarding rooms and meals.

RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

NEGRO REPRESENTATION ON RELIEF

O. L. HARVEY

TO WHAT extent are Negroes on relief represented to a greater or less degree than are whites?

A common, but erroneous, method of determining the answer to this question is to calculate the percentage which Negroes constitute of all persons on relief. But, since this coefficient fails to recognize the extent to which the relief population in each racial group is related to the total population in each group, it cannot be considered in any way a satisfactory index.

It is essential that whatever comparison be made recognize the relationships between the relief and total populations for each racial group separately. Thus, it is permissible to compare the percentage of all Negroes on relief to the total Negro population with the percentage of all whites on relief to the total white population in the same given community. Or, approaching the same problem by way of a slightly different method, one may justifiably compare the percentage of all Negroes on relief to all whites on relief with the percentage of the total Negro population to the total white population in the same given community.

Using this logically more precise method it is possible to express the relationship, which the Negro percentage bears to the

white percentage, as a simple ratio, referred to as the "index of representation."[1]

This index shows the extent to which Negroes are overrepresented or underrepresented on relief by comparison with whites. Thus an index of 1.95 for a given community indicates that, in the community as a whole, Negroes are represented on relief almost twice as heavily as are whites. In other words, assuming the total Negro population and the total white population of the community to be of the same size, there would be 195 Negroes on relief to every 100 whites on relief.

The present study constitutes an attempt to answer the following questions concerning Negro representation on relief in each of twenty-three states in which Negroes constitute a large proportion of the total population of the state: (1) To what extent are Negroes represented on relief in the urban and the rural areas of each state? (2) What explanations may

[1] To illustrate this method symbolically, with respect to a given community, let: N = the total Negro population, n = the total Negro relief population, W = the total white population, and w = the total white relief population. Then the index of Negro representation may be determined according to the formula: $\frac{n \times W}{N \times w}$.

be given for the differences observed between rural and urban representation?

The facts are presented in Table I, which should be read as follows (by way of illustration, for Tennessee): All urban whites on relief constitute 6.3 per cent of the total white population of the state, whereas all urban Negroes on relief constitute 11.2 per cent of the total Negro

the last column is indicated the percentage of the combined Negro and white population which resided in urban areas in 1930.[2]

Examination of the table reveals the following findings: (1) Negroes are over-represented on relief in the urban areas of all of the states included in this study, (2) But, with respect to the degree of

TABLE I

| | PERCENTAGE OF RELIEF PERSONS TO ALL PERSONS | | | | | | PERCENTAGE OF RURAL FARM TO ALL RURAL PERSONS | | PER CENT URBAN OF ALL PERSONS NEGRO AND WHITE |
| | Urban | | | Rural | | | | | |
	White	Negro	Negro index	White	Negro	Negro index	White	Negro	
Tennessee	6.3	11.2	1.78	7.7	3.2	0.42	70	73	34
West Virginia	14.6	32.5	2.23	25.8	12.5	0.48	38	5	28
Arkansas	13.7	26.9	1.96	8.9	4.7	0.53	73	83	21
Kentucky	8.3	16.3	1.96	22.5	12.0	0.53	66	44	31
Mississippi	12.0	18.4	1.53	14.1	7.6	0.54	75	87	17
Louisiana	10.7	33.0	3.08	17.3	9.6	0.54	61	72	40
Georgia	8.7	22.4	2.58	8.7	6.1	0.70	68	74	31
Maryland	8.4	26.5	3.15	3.8	3.0	0.79	36	38	60
Texas	8.5	18.3	2.15	3.3	2.9	0.88	67	78	40
Alabama	11.4	22.4	1.96	18.0	17.7	0.98	69	73	28
Virginia	3.3	9.8	2.97	1.6	1.6	1.00	57	59	32
Florida	15.1	46.7	3.09	26.6	26.9	1.01	41	34	52
North Carolina	6.4	19.6	3.06	6.7	8.3	1.24	65	74	26
South Carolina	18.8	39.1	2.08	19.8	25.1	1.27	58	76	21
Oklahoma	12.3	27.9	2.27	20.2	26.7	1.32	64	76	35
Missouri	6.1	24.1	4.11	3.2	5.0	1.56	63	55	51
Indiana	10.3	31.0	3.01	6.2	12.1	1.95	56	28	55
Michigan	11.6	28.8	2.48	12.7	26.6	2.09	51	24	68
Pennsylvania	11.7	35.1	3.00	16.4	35.9	2.19	28	7	68
Ohio	10.8	39.5	3.66	8.8	27.3	3.10	47	20	68
New Jersey	7.9	29.8	3.77	5.7	18.8	3.30	17	14	83
New York	9.3	25.3	2.72	9.8	25.4	2.59	34	10	84
Illinois	10.7	35.6	3.33	6.7	30.9	4.61	50	22	74

urban population of the state. Therefore, the index of urban Negro representation on relief is $11.2/6.3 = 1.78$. The rural index of 0.42 is similarly derived from the division of the entry in column 5 by that in column 4. In the seventh and eighth columns are reported the percentage of rural farm to all rural persons in the state, whites and Negroes separately. And in

Negro representation on relief in rural areas, the 23 states fall into three major

[2] The data presented in columns 1, 2, 4, 5, and 9 were taken from pages 14–15 of report number two of the Unemployment Relief Census of October, 1933, of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. According to advice received from this organization, four errors in that table need to be corrected, as follows: Virginia, white relief persons, 1933, total should read 38,127, and corresponding percentage 2.2;

groups, provided one take into account the degree of urbanization of the combined white and Negro population of each state: (a) those with indices of Negro representation not greater than unity;[3] (b) those with indices higher than unity, but with a percentage of urban population less than 50;[4] and (c) those with indices higher than unity and percentage of urban population over 50.[5]

Florida, which actually falls within the third group, is obviously egregious, and has been transferred to the intermediate group.

It is interesting to note that the first group is confined to the South, and that the last is confined to the North. With the intermediate group we are not here directly concerned.

It has been suggested to the writer by Dr. T. J. Woofter, Jr., that the *prima facie* overrepresentation of Negroes in rural areas in the eight northern states is actually deceptive in that it is in large part

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urban should read 18,746, and corresponding percentage 3.3; Maryland, white relief persons, 1933, total should read 88,829, and corresponding percentage 6.6; urban should read 68,400, and corresponding percentage 8.4.

All population data in that report referring to "all persons, 1930" were derived from the 1930 Census; and those referring to "relief persons, 1933" were derived from the October, 1933, relief census.

The percentages reported in columns 7 and 8 of the table here published were derived from data reported in the 1930 census, vol. III, part 1, pages 30–31.

[3] Namely, Tennessee, West Virginia, Arkansas, Kentucky, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, Maryland, Texas, Alabama.

[4] Namely, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Oklahoma.

[5] Namely, Missouri, Indiana, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, New York, Illinois, Florida.

due to the fact that Negroes in these states are resident not so much in rural farm as in rural non-farm areas, thus constituting what may be considered almost an offshoot of urbanization, whereas in the southern group of ten states the proportion of rural farm Negroes is greater than that of rural non-farm Negroes.

This thesis receives general support from the evidence in the appended table. There it may be noted that, apart from Kentucky and West Virginia, the Negro rural farm percentage, relative to that for the whites, is consistently higher in the southern group and lower in the northern group. Furthermore, the differences between rural farm percentages for white and Negroes are considerably less in the southern than in the northern states.

Unfortunately the relief census of 1933 failed to differentiate rural farm from rural non-farm populations, with the result that the direct comparison of the indices of Negro representation for these groups is not possible. But the evidence certainly suggests that the reported degree of Negro overrepresentation in rural areas in the northern states is less characteristic of the rural farm than of the rural non-farm areas. And in general it would suggest as warrantable the suspicion that although Negroes are overrepresented in urban and rural non-farm areas, they are underrepresented in the rural farm areas not only of the southern states, but perhaps also in all of the states with which we are here concerned.[6]

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[6] Interesting additional information on the matter of Negro representation on relief may be obtained from findings presented in "The Rural Negro on Relief," bulletin H3, published by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, October 17, 1935.

THE BLACK MAN AND THE GREAT WHITE PLAGUE

JOHN M. GIBSON

Sanatorium, North Carolina

TUBERCULOSIS, a rarity among Negro slaves prior to the Civil War, became so rampant among the colored population after Emancipation that, as late as 1896, Dr. Frederick L. Hoffman, consulting statistician of the Prudential Insurance Company of America, lamented in his book, *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro*, that "in the struggle for race supremacy the black race is not holding its own" and predicted that "its extreme liability to consumption alone would be sufficient to seal its fate."

This doleful prophecy, happily, has not been fulfilled. The Negro race is not only holding its own numerically but is increasing. Moreover, it is slowly mastering tuberculosis, which Dr. Hoffman regarded, for good reason, as at that time the greatest enemy of its survival, and the tuberculosis death rate among the colored people is now less than forty per cent as high as it was two decades ago.

Nevertheless, the Negro's conquest of this disease is still far from complete, and the progress made has been considerably less satisfactory than that made by the white race. The tuberculosis mortality rate is still between two and one-half and three times as high among the colored people as among the white, and one-tenth of the Negroes now dying in the United States are victims of the Great White Plague.

Until recent years experts and the general public alike accepted as unassailable the dictum that tuberculosis in a colored person must inevitably be fatal, and there are some who still accept it as the truth, notwithstanding impressive evidence to the contrary. The modern, more enlightened view, however, is that tuberculosis is curable in the Negro, and this view is supported by the cold, unemotional testimony of statistics. Indeed health enthusiasts are now looking forward to the day when the present disparity between the tuberculosis rates for the two races will be largely, if not entirely, removed.

The records of almost any sanatorium treating colored patients show that, in the words of a tuberculosis specialist who has treated many cases of the disease in members of both races, "the person who says the Negro cannot be cured of tuberculosis speaks from a very limited experience with tuberculosis in the Negro." Sanatorium records also serve as impressive reminders, at the same time, that antituberculosis work among the colored people has been much less successful than among the white.

At the North Carolina Sanatorium, an institution that makes a special effort to keep its records accurate and complete, the latest biennial report of the superintendent shows that approximately 50 per cent of all Negro patients discharged during that two-year period had shown definite improvement in their condition, some being well enough to return to light work shortly after their discharge. This showing, it is true, is not as favorable as that made by the white patients discharged, 83 per cent of whom had shown definite improvement, but it indicates unmistakable progress and justifies the changed attitude toward the colored man and his disease problem.

An important aspect of tuberculosis is

the difficulty of beginning treatment in an early, easily cured stage of the disease. It has long been an axiom of the medical profession that the chance of a cure is in inverse ratio to the time elapsing between the onset of active disease and the beginning of treatment. The largest percentage of recoveries by far is made among patients entering sanatoria, or beginning treatment at home, as incipient or minimal cases. As the disease progresses, under the strain of ordinary life, from incipient to moderately advanced and then to far advanced, the chance for a cure is greatly reduced. This is, of course, true of both races.

The experience of a typical state, North Carolina, shows the difficulty of inducing colored people to avail themselves of free tuberculosis clinics conducted all over the state. Negroes constitute approximately 30 per cent of the state's total population, but only 12 per cent of those receiving examinations at these clinics are colored.

Responsibility for the large percentage of advanced cases admitted to most institutions treating Negroes must not be placed entirely upon the unwillingness of the average colored person to take advantage of opportunities to obtain free examinations, however, in the opinion of the late Dr. H. G. Carter, for many years medical superintendent of the Piedmont Sanatorium, at Burkeville, Virginia, which treats Negro patients exclusively. In an article published some time ago in *The American Review of Tuberculosis* he wrote:

A serious handicap has been the inability of many who practice medicine among Negroes to diagnose early tuberculosis. We receive applications marked "incipient" which later prove upon examination to be far advanced. In some cases this discrepancy may be explained by rapid progression of the disease, but in others the history shows a tuberculous condition present for several years.

Be the cause what it may, the percentage of the more advanced cases admitted to the average sanatorium is much greater among the colored than the white patients. A typical institution, chosen at random, classified 15 per cent of white admissions during a two-year period as incipient, forty per cent as moderately advanced, and forty-five per cent as far advanced. In striking contrast is the classification record of this institution's colored admissions: three per cent incipient, 21 per cent moderately advanced and 76 per cent far advanced.

Tuberculosis strikes the colored race its heaviest blow much earlier in life than the white. Below five years of age the Negro death rate for this disease is five times that of the white. At the age of ten the colored rate is ten times the white rate. At twenty-five the ratio is three to one (about the ratio for the two races as a whole) and after that there is a gradual decrease in the Negro tuberculosis mortality rate, in contrast to the rising curve of white tuberculosis mortality, until at the age of about sixty the curves meet and pass each other.

The colored man living in the country has a much better chance of escaping death from tuberculosis and even the disease itself than his brother or cousin in the city, and the same is true of the colored woman. The New York Tuberculosis and Health Association a short time ago compiled some statistical tables showing the advantage of rural life from this point of view. Of the 42 large American cities studied by the association's statistician, only 12 had a ratio of colored to white tuberculosis deaths per 100,000 population as low as the national ratio already mentioned (almost three to one) and two of these 12 cities making a better-than-average showing are tuberculosis health centers in the Southwest,

where large numbers of tuberculosis sufferers, almost all of them white, go from all parts of the world after despairing of recovery in their home communities. Naturally such cities are not representative of the effect of urban life upon the Negro mortality rate for this disease.

Taken as a whole, these 42 large American cities were shown to have an average tuberculosis death rate of 59 per 100,000 for white people and 245 per 100,000 for Negroes. The ratio of colored to white tuberculosis deaths on the basis of population therefore was approximately four and one-fifth to one, or 40 per cent greater than that for the country as a whole. It is significant that, with a single exception, all the 12 cities having an average tuberculosis mortality rate more favorable to the Negro than the national average have a relatively small Negro population.

Tuberculosis experts frequently point out that living conditions of most Negroes in cities are such as to make a high mortality rate for almost any infectious disease almost inevitable, regardless of racial resistance or anything else. Anyone taking the trouble to make a personal survey of the living quarters of colored residents in the crowded centers of population usually finds himself in perfect agreement with the observation made by James H. Robinson, supervisor of State Negro Welfare of the Tennessee Department of Institutions, who declared at the 1930 meeting of the National Tuberculosis Association that "you will find him (the Negro) living near the railroad yards, the river bottoms, the dump pile, the back streets and alleys, the slums." This speaker added that "he is the victim of overcrowded houses; he lives in tenements that are literally nothing but hovels, with an insufficient supply of light, fresh air and decent accommodations."

A penetrating insight into the effect of living conditions upon the tuberculosis death rate among Negroes is obtained from the report of a group of health officers, physicians, and undertakers who examined the home conditions of fifteen Negroes and three white persons who had died during the previous year of tuberculosis in a typical southern community (Pasquotank County, North Carolina). These searchers after light on this troublesome phase of the tuberculosis problem found that only two of the fifteen Negro tuberculosis victims had enjoyed living standards as high as those enjoyed by the average white person of the community.

Working conditions among the colored population of most cities are as unfavorable for the control of tuberculosis and other diseases as are living conditions. In all too many instances these black people are constantly inviting disease and death by working in dust-laden air. They seldom receive compensation much above the bare-existence level, and their habits and pleasures are correspondingly unconducive to the building up of resistance to invading tubercle bacilli.

The Negro race, too, has failed to share to as great a degree as it should in the disease-prevention campaigns that have proved so helpful in the case of the more fortunate white race. As Dr. Taliaferro Clark, former senior surgeon of the United States Public Health Service, said after making an exhaustive study of the Negro tuberculosis problem in the United States, "the fact that we have extended life by preventive measures is enough to say that the group which gets less must lag behind in decreasing the death rates."

"Tuberculosis is primarily a disease of poverty," said Dr. Eugene L. Opie, of Philadelphia, at the 1930 meeting of the National Tuberculosis Association, "and the economic conditions under which many colored people live are such as to

favor the spread of the disease. Environmental conditions doubtless explain in part the high death rate of the American Negro."

There is hearty agreement with Dr. Opie's conclusions, with a tendency to place even greater stress upon environmental conditions in explaining the difference in the two races' mortality rates, in a thesis on *Life and Death in Harlem* which Winfred B. Nathan prepared as a candidate for the Ph.D. degree in the New York University School of Education. In it the writer expressed the opinion, based upon his own rather exhaustive studies, that environmental conditions were almost, if not entirely, responsible for the difference noted. He wrote:

The Negro is not peculiarly susceptible to this disease, for white races under similar conditions of unwholesome environment suffer equally. This is attested by the fact that there are four districts outside Harlem where the mortality for tuberculosis averages annually over two hundred per 100,000 population, a rate which is slightly above the Harlem rate of one hundred and ninety-three, and vastly above the city's rate of ninety-six per 100,000 population. There are no Negroes in the districts cited above, but insanitary dwellings common to both Harlem and the Bellevue-Yorkville districts harbor the most cases of this fell disease of civilization. With a definite policy of tuberculosis control, the rate for North Harlem can be appreciably reduced.

The type of disease usually found in Negroes adds to the difficulty of controlling tuberculosis among the colored people. Case histories covering large numbers of Negro patients show that the invading tubercle bacilli usually have a much more serious effect upon their lungs and other parts of the body than upon those of white persons. X-ray pictures usually show more widespread disease areas, with little or no tendency to heal. Occasionally—more often than in the case of white persons—there are all the manifestations of an acute infection.

The average white person has an entirely different reaction to the invading tuberculosis germs. The chronic type of disease is much more often encountered, and resistance is usually greater. It is not at all unusual for a white person to have a small amount of mildly active disease and never feel sick enough to see a doctor, the disease healing in due course of time and the person living out his normal course of life. The acute type, showing little or no tendency to heal but revealing, on the contrary, a tendency to spread rapidly, is seldom met with by a physician treating white patients only.

As an inevitable result of the large proportion of advanced cases among Negroes just beginning treatment after having positive—often markedly positive—sputum for a long time, there is the constant danger of spreading the disease among their friends and associates inside and outside their own families. Overcrowding and unfavorable living and working conditions generally add greatly to the opportunities of transmitting tubercle bacilli and at the same time reduce people's resistance to them.

Another environmental factor in the spread of tuberculosis among colored people is the necessity for colored women to neglect their own children while they contribute to the family income by acting as nursemaids for white children or performing other tasks in white families. Census figures show that the percentage of colored women gainfully employed is almost three times that of white women. This parental neglect, forced by stern economic necessity, must have a more than casual relationship to the fact, already mentioned, that the tuberculosis death rate among colored children from birth to

five years of age is five times that of white children of the same age-group, while at the age of ten the colored tuberculosis death rate is ten times the white.

The number of colored women who work for other colored people is very small indeed, the vast majority being employed by white people. They thus make the problem of tuberculosis in Negroes a matter of vital importance to the white race and have a great effect upon the death rate of white and black alike. By coming into close and constant contact with white children at an age when the latter are especially susceptible to tuberculous infection—although they may not develop active tuberculosis for many years—this army of colored servants is undoubtedly responsible for uncounted thousands of breakdowns and deaths in the families of their employers. A number of states and cities have taken official cognizance of this peril and passed laws prohibiting persons known to have active tuberculosis from doing work that brings them into close association with young children. Most laws of this kind are entirely inadequate, however, as a tuberculous servant may hold her job for a long time and spread the disease to half a dozen members of a single family before she or anyone else is aware of the danger. If an applicant for work looks fairly healthy, hardly anyone thinks of insisting upon a health certificate or questioning her right to a job. Newspapers reported a short time ago that Englewood, New Jersey, had passed a law requiring physical examinations of all those seeking work as domestic servants, and other municipalities have passed similar laws. The number is still far too small, however.

Although the author of *Life and Death in Harlem* has the support of a large body of expert opinion in insisting that environmental conditions play such a dominating part in Negro tuberculosis as to render other factors relatively inconsequential, the weight of medical opinion supports the theory that racial peculiarities are no less important.

Moreover, it has been shown that the greater the percentage of pure Negro blood in a patient's veins, the greater the difficulty he is likely to have in getting well of tuberculosis. The late Dr. Carter, already mentioned, became interested in this phase of the problem as head of a Negro sanatorium and made extensive studies among his own patients. The results of these studies were incorporated in an article published in *The American Review of Tuberculosis*. In it he wrote:

Our observations continue to show the Mulatto to have apparently better resistance than the Black. Our division into the three classes does not of course follow any hard and fast rule: those who are decidedly black are classed as Black; those decidedly light are classed as Mulatto; all other shades are called Brown. . . . Thirty-one per cent of Blacks were discharged improved and sixty-nine per cent unimproved; while forty-six per cent of Mulattoes were improved and fifty-four per cent unimproved.

The apparent lack of physical resistance to the invading tubercle bacilli on the part of the Negro, as compared with the white man, which is shown in other studies as well as in those conducted by Dr. Carter, is explained by many tuberculosis experts as being due to lack of previous exposure to small doses of bacilli over a long period—doses too small to cause active tuberculosis but large enough to develop physical resistance to the disease. These experts say this accounts for the rapid and devastating spread of tuberculosis among the colored people of the South after the Civil War, when, according to their theory, the emancipated but in many cases helpless and almost penniless blacks found their habits of life entirely changed and began receiving mass doses

of tubercle bacilli through close association with white germ carriers.

Significant from this point of view was the experience of African colonial troops sent to France during the World War, when they are said to have been brought for the first time into close contact with tuberculosis-infected white persons. Among black colonial troops living under the same conditions as white troops, Dr. Lyle Cummings found, from a study of the mortality figures for 1917 and 1918, that the tuberculosis deaths among a very small force—about 11,000—of Negro colonials, recruited almost entirely from regions where tuberculosis was virtually unknown, reached a total of 182, while the total tuberculosis deaths among the rest of the British Expeditionary Forces, numbering approximately a million and a half white troops, were only 165. In discussing these figures Dr. Cummings pointed out that the colonial troops had received careful medical examinations before leaving for France. It seems fair to assume, therefore, that they contracted the disease after coming into contact with white people. The fact that they died quickly, instead of having the disease run a long, slow, chronic course, as is usually true in the case of white patients, is in full agreement with the theory that the Negro usually reacts to tuberculosis as to an acute, rapidly progressing illness.

Additional light is thrown upon the average Negro's reaction to infection with tuberculosis germs by the skin-testing of more than 103,000 white and approximately 20,000 colored children by the Extension Department of the North Carolina Sanatorium. The percentage of positive reactors—that is to say, those showing the presence of tubercle bacilli in their bodies but not necessarily having actual tuberculosis—did not vary greatly, the difference being only three points, or

15.3 in the case of white children and 18.3 in that of colored. However, when X-ray pictures were made of the chests of the positive reactors, a different story was told, the percentage of colored positive reactors having tuberculous disease being almost twice as high as that for the similar group of white children. This gives considerable strength to the theory that racial resistance to invading tubercle bacilli is much less in the average colored than in the average white person, certainly as far as boys and girls are concerned.

Notwithstanding the above and the persistently adverse mortality rate, the tuberculosis picture, insofar as it concerns the Negroes, is by no means a discouraging one. The Negro death rate generally is now approximately that of most civilized countries at the outbreak of the World War. The average colored person in the United States still dies seventeen years younger than the average American regardless of race, but he, or she, lives eight years longer than the average American, regardless of race, lived in 1880.

Progress already made in conquering tuberculosis is saving the lives of approximately 30,000 Negroes every year, as compared with two decades ago. There is reason to hope and believe that continued progress will reduce the present annual tuberculosis toll of about 20,000 colored persons to a mere fraction of that number.

When Booker T. Washington issued his call for a National Negro Health Week in 1915, he estimated that 450,000 Negroes were seriously ill at the time and that 45 per cent of all deaths among the colored population were preventable. An actual reduction of, not 45 but 60 per cent, in the Negro tuberculosis death rate proves that, so far as this disease is concerned at least, he did not overestimate the potentialities of medical science.

GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspects of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE MELTING POT IN THE UNITED STATES

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ALTHOUGH there has been adopted in the United States a policy of heavy restriction of the immigration coming to us from foreign shores, it may not be amiss to attempt to discover how far there may have been justification of this policy, especially so far as it may relate to the extent that assimilation is actually progressing, or that some sort of like-mindedness upon national issues has been developed, among different national groups seeking to unite with us. We may well learn something of the results of having in our midst those who have freely come to us and have mingled their standards and ideals with ours, and are helping, no less than ourselves, to mold our nation.

This need not mean that we should adopt ways of national exclusiveness or give any group in America, old or new, priority in setting its standards or aims. Nor is it meant that any group should be called upon to surrender any custom or mode of life or characteristic of its own, or that we require them to pass through a so-called American mold, one of our own choosing. The essential thing we would inquire into is whether different groups coming to America may have like visions with American citizens in general, or see eye to eye with them, or render similar response with them, in matters concerning the national life of the country.

A time of national crisis may constitute a fair, if not the best, test of the issue. Such a test may perhaps be found in a study of the vote cast in political elections for a candidate or for policies representing an attitude unsympathetic with or counter to that of the American people as a whole during the recent World War. In the largest city of the land, a city with a vast foreign-born population, such a stand was openly taken by the candidate of the Socialist Party—a stand at the time of rather distinct political nature, and little based upon the general economic principles of that party. The vote in question was generally accepted as a protest to a large degree against America's participation in the War. Of such character, in fact, was the opposition at the time to the American cause that it was repudiated by a considerable number of Socialists of American origin. Of this attitude, the late Mr. Morris Hillquit, an able and scholarly gentleman himself, was a pronounced exponent; and it was he who was made the candidate of the Socialist Party for the office of Mayor of New York City in the election of November, 1917.

In this election, Mr. Hillquit received 142,178 votes, or a little more than one-

fifth (22.1 per cent) of all of the votes cast. Candidates of this same Party for other offices had corresponding proportions of the total balloting. The vote of the Socialist Party in this election was in fact several times its then normal vote in the city of New York.

Let us analyze the sources of this vote. The City of New York is divided into five boroughs, each constituting a separate county of the State—Manhattan (New York County), Brooklyn (Kings County), Bronx, Queens, and Richmond (Staten Island). These boroughs are divided into Assembly Districts, the chief electoral units, Manhattan and Brooklyn each having at the time twenty-three, Bronx eight, Queens six, and Richmond two. The Assembly Districts are in turn made up of election districts, the smallest political division of all, which are severally intended to meet the needs of about 300 voters, though often answering for 400 or more, and sometimes for 200 or even less. There are to an Assembly District as a rule about 30 election districts, or a few less, though occasionally the number may go to 40 or more.

In the election of 1917 Mr. Hillquit obtained a plurality in 334 election districts, of which 128 were in Manhattan, 107 in Brooklyn, 96 in Bronx, and 3 in Queens,—or, in all, about one-seventh of the total number of election districts in the city. Of the entire vote received by him (142,178), 62,446, or about 44.0 per cent, came from the election districts giving him a plurality. If to this be added the vote of districts giving him a very large proportion of its ballots, and the districts contiguous to these, the vote of Mr. Hillquit is discovered to be in rather clearly defined areas.

With the exception of a few scattered units, we find this vote to be massed in five great centers, in which it may be said

to be practically solid. The first is the lower East Side of Manhattan, the area south of Fourteenth Street and east of the Bowery. The second is a district hugging close the north-eastern corner of Central Park. The third is the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn, just across the East River from the lower East Side of Manhattan. The fourth is comprised in the New Lots, Flatland, and East New York section, or what is perhaps better known as the Brownsville section, in the eastern part of Brooklyn. The fifth covers the eastern portion of the Bronx, embracing the sections known as Hunt's Point, Port Morris, Morrisania, Crotona Park, and West Farms.

Of the 334 election districts, furthermore, giving Mr. Hillquit a plurality, 213, or practically two-thirds, gave him a majority as well—more votes than were cast for all the other candidates together—95 being in Manhattan, 73 in Brooklyn, and 45 in the Bronx. These districts are found almost entirely in the five sections just enumerated.

We may next seek to determine, as far as possible, the elements that make up the population of these sections. We are not able to learn from any official source the racial or national constitution of the smaller election districts; but we may learn something with respect to the larger Assembly Districts. In the Federal census of 1910 a statistical arrangement is made of these Districts according to the country of the nativity of the inhabitants or of that of their parents, as well as according to the number of males of foreign birth over twenty-one years of age who have been naturalized. We have, in addition, the returns of a special census of the State of New York in 1915, showing the number of aliens in each block in each election district. Though since these enumerations the city has been redistricted, it is

still possible to find what present election districts are included in the former Assembly Districts, and thus to discover both the main national affiliations and the extent of the alien elements of the population contained therein.

In Table I are presented the percentage of the foreign-born for different nationalities having at least three per cent of the total population, in New York City, and sembly Districts, each having 10 or more—sufficient, as a rule, to be a determining factor. Six of such Districts are in Manhattan, four in Brooklyn, and three in the Bronx. (The last named borough is to be regarded as of lesser relative importance, having then only one-tenth of the city's population.) Moreover, of the remaining 60 election districts won by Mr. Hillquit, 41, or two-thirds, are contiguous

TABLE I

PER CENT OF POPULATION IN NEW YORK CITY ACCORDING TO NATIONALITY IN ASSEMBLY DISTRICTS IN WHICH 10 OR MORE ELECTION DISTRICTS WERE CARRIED BY HILLQUIT IN 1917

NEW YORK CITY AND PARTICULAR ELECTION DISTRICTS	PER CENT OF FOREIGN POPULATION OF NEW YORK CITY				PER CENT OF FOREIGN POPULATION IN ASSEMBLY DISTRICTS WITH 10 OR MORE ELECTION DISTRICTS FOR HILLQUIT				PER CENT OF POPULATION OF DISTRICTS SPECIFIED TO TOTAL POPULATION OF SAME NATIONALITY			
	Total	Manhattan	Brooklyn	Bronx	Total	Manhattan	Brooklyn	Bronx	Total	Manhattan	Brooklyn	Bronx
Foreign-Born or Native-Born of Foreign Parentage..........	78.6	82.5	75.6	77.4	86.9	95.3	83.7	76.6				
Austria..............	6.0	8.7	3.6	3.8	12.6	22.0	6.9	4.2	57.6	60.5	52.6	78.6
Germany...........	12.7	10.0	12.7	18.8	10.6	5.4	11.9	18.0	23.1	12.8	25.4	71.0
Hungary............	2.3	3.5	0.9	2.1	3.4	5.8	1.3	2.2	41.3	39.9	37.6	76.8
Ireland.............	11.8	13.0	11.0	10.9	5.2	2.6	4.4	10.9	12.0	4.0	10.8	75.9
Italy...............	11.2	12.9	10.0	9.2	5.9	5.7	7.1	4.6	14.6	10.3	19.0	38.5
Rumania...........	0.7	1.0	0.5	0.5	1.7	3.0	1.2	0.5	70.0	70.1	67.4	80.3
Russia..............	14.9	17.2	15.6	10.6	26.3	42.0	37.5	11.5	60.8	57.9	65.8	80.2
Other..............	19.0	16.2	21.3	22.0	21.2	8.8	13.4	24.7				
Per cent of Aliens....	23.8	31.1	19.9	19.9	32.1	45.2	27.9	19.4				
Per Cent of Unnaturalized Males 21 Years of Age or Over..............	61.8	69.1	56.2	51.4	66.6	74.4	63.1	49.1				

in Manhattan, Brooklyn, and the Bronx separately, the percentage for each in the Assembly Districts with ten or more election districts for M. Hillquit, the percentage of aliens, and the percentage of unnaturalized males over twenty-one years of age.

Of the 334 election districts carried by Mr. Hillquit, 274, or more than four-fifths of all, are found in 13 former Assembly Districts mentioned, indicating a similar demographic constitution, and making 315, or 94.3 per cent, of his election districts accounted for. Of the 213 election districts giving him a majority of all the votes cast, 184, almost four-fifths, are in these Assembly Districts. Of the remaining 29 election districts with a majority of votes for him, 23, or well over two-thirds, are adjacent

to these in the aforesaid Assembly Districts, there thus being pointed out the possible basis of the vote of 97.2 per cent of such election districts.

The Assembly Districts which we have specified do not, let it be understood, contain all the election districts having a plurality or a majority for Mr. Hillquit; but the others are dispersed, and are with too few of his election districts to permit any generalizations as to the constitution of their voters. Nor, let it be borne in mind, is it to be thought that all the voters in the localities indicated were for Mr. Hillquit, for there were many who cast their ballots against him. Here we are merely concerned with the matter of the election districts giving him a plurality or a majority, and of the national character of such.

In an examination of our table the feature likely to strike our attention at the outset is the large foreign population in the Assembly Districts the election districts of which were in considerable part at least for Mr. Hillquit. Despite the high percentage for the entire city, namely, 78.6, these Districts contain as a rule the greatest proportions, the percentage for all of them being 86.9, and the percentage for those in Manhattan being 95.3. A further manifestation of this characteristic is found in the circumstance that, while the proportion of aliens in the city as a whole is a little under one-fourth (23.8 per cent), the proportion in the Hillquit Districts is nearly one-third (32.1 per cent). In Manhattan, the proportion of aliens is 31.1 per cent, as against 45.2 per cent for the Hillquit Districts—the proportion in some of the latter being over one-half. Finally, it appears that, though the proportion of the males of voting age who have failed to become naturalized and who, in consequence, are not able to vote, is slightly over three-

fifths (61.8 per cent) for the city, the proportion is some two-thirds (66.6 per cent) in the Hillquit districts, being in some of the Manhattan Districts as great as three-fourths, or even four-fifths.

The second important issue in connection with the election is thus that the Hillquit vote came from sections of the city predominantly alien. It may be worth while to add that if all the aliens in the city had been able to vote, and provided that there had been no counteracting influences, then it becomes within the possibilities, if not among the probabilities, that Mr. Hillquit would have carried the election.

Much the most significant feature in the statistics in our table, however, lies in the proportion of the various nationalities found in the Assembly Districts under examination. The number of nationalities having a percentage of not less than three in the total population in the Districts is seven. These nationalities represent persons who were themselves born, or whose parents were born, in Austria, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Rumania, and Russia.

Considerably the largest group is of persons from Russia, who comprise over one-fourth (26.3 per cent) of all the persons in the Districts specified, though they form but little over one-seventh (14.9 per cent) of the population of the entire city. In the Districts of Manhattan they comprise 42.0 per cent, though but 17.2 per cent of the population of the entire borough.

The nationality showing the next highest proportion is represented by persons from Austria, with 12.6 per cent, though they are with but 6.0 per cent for the whole city. In the Districts of Manhattan they constitute 22.0 per cent, as against 8.7 per cent for the borough. Following are persons from Germany with

10.6 per cent; their proportion here is, however, less than that for the city as a whole, which is 12.7 per cent, so that, so far as these particular Districts indicate, Mr. Hillquit would seem to have received but slight aid from German sources. This appears to be decidedly the case with respect to the Irish and the Italians, the former nationality showing but 5.2 per cent of the population in the specified Districts, as against 11.8 per cent for the city as a whole, and the latter nationality 5.0 per cent, as against 11.2 per cent. Persons from Hungary offer a percentage of 3.4 in these Districts, but of 2.3 for the entire city, indicating a slight Hillquit tendency among them. The last group are persons from Rumania. These have but a small representation in the population of the city, or 0.7 per cent, though they have a proportion in these Districts of 1.7 per cent, which argues likewise a Hillquit leaning.

Another noteworthy feature of our statistics is to be discovered in the last four columns of the table, showing what ratios are borne by these different nationalities between their total number in the Districts referred to and their total number in the city as a whole; that is, the proportion of their entire number found in these Districts. Here persons from Rumania stand in the lead, seven-tenths of all of them being so localized. Then come persons whose origin is Russian, with three-fifths (60.8 per cent) of their number gathered in these Districts—57.9 per cent in Manhattan, 65.8 per cent in Brooklyn, and 80.2 per cent in the Bronx. Close after them are persons from Austria, with 57.6 per cent (60.5 per cent in Manhattan). Next in line are persons from Hungary, with 41.3 per cent. Following are persons from Germany, with 23.1 per cent—which does not altogether bear out the former indication of scant Hillquit

assistance. Last are the Italians and the Irish with 16.3 per cent and 12.0 per cent, respectively—in keeping with their previous record of little Hillquit associations.

If we carry our inquiry a little farther along these lines, and find what proportion of the number of the several nationalities are in Assembly Districts of which six or more election districts were carried for Mr. Hillquit (not indicated in the table)— a number to make manifest a very strong Hillquit element, if not a predominant one—we have results even more pronounced. The proportion of persons from Rumania in such Districts to their total number in the city is over three-fourths (76.2 per cent); for persons from Russia, almost three-fourths (74.2 per cent); for persons from Austria, 63.9 per cent; for persons from Hungary, 45.5 per cent; for persons from Germany, 32.3 per cent; for persons from Italy, 27.8 per cent; and for persons from Ireland, 17.4 per cent.

The last, and the most impressive, matter made apparent from the analysis of the vote for Hillquit is that this vote was in the main confined to certain racial or national groups in our population, and reached but little beyond them. The greater part, if indeed not the bulk, of his support came from persons who were born, or whose parents were born, in the countries of Eastern Europe. These persons are, specifically, persons from Russia, which easily stands foremost; persons from Austria-Hungary and Rumania; and perhaps to a certain slight extent persons from Germany.

The results that have been set forth in our study constitute some answer to our original question of how far there has been developed a common consciousness among present-day Americans, or between Americans of the older stock and Americans of some of the newer stocks—how far we have been becoming Americans all in

our national viewpoints—how far we have been really becoming a homogeneous national people.

The question is now not so much as to the rightness of the American war policy, or as to the attitude of the individual thinker with regard to that policy. The question is not one of absolute uniformity of thought and aims as between individuals. If the matter were one simply of differences between individuals, there would be little of a problem to arise. But the differences are not between individuals; they are between groups. The matter for our attention is the unlike response of the several groups in American life at a given moment—here possibly at a national crisis—or the lack of a common meeting ground between them on certain possibly vital issues.

Perhaps the most satisfactory explanation of the differences in attitude lies in the fact that we have allowed, if not compelled, peoples coming to us who are found not to possess the prevailing American mind, to mass themselves in the slums of our cities—for almost all of whom mention has been made have for a greater or less period been dwellers thereof—where they have seen the worst America has had to give and show, where the light of American ideals and aims may not have easily broken through, and where there may have been reached a temper of sullen discontent. In addition, to some extent, or on the part of some, there are to be reckoned with certain embryonic "radical" tendencies already in existence in the home of former residence in Europe.

THE SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Under the presidency of E. T. Krueger the Southern Sociological Society held its first annual meeting at Atlanta, Georgia, April 17–18, 1936, with 181 in attendance from ten states. Sixteen papers were read at five sectional meetings and a luncheon meeting was devoted to discussion of the proposed Bankhead-Jones Tenant Farms Bill. In addition, Robert E. Park spoke informally on Social Change and the News at the annual dinner. Committees were authorized by the Society (1) to study the status of sociology in institutions of higher learning in the area, (2) to study the problem of the growth and place of sociology in secondary education, (3) to take an annual inventory of research in progress in the South and to report on possible steps further to encourage sociological research.

An agreement was concluded for one year with the Board of Editors of SOCIAL FORCES whereby the members of the Society will receive SOCIAL FORCES, and the Journal will "publish as many of the papers of the Society as may meet the joint standards of the Editors and the Committee on Publications of the Society and as may be commensurate with its publication schedule and resources."

The following officers were elected for the new year: Wilson Gee, University of Virginia, President; H. C. Brearley, Clemson College, First Vice-President; Rhoda Kaufman, Family Welfare Society of Atlanta, Second Vice-President; Rupert B. Vance, University of North Carolina, Secretary-Treasurer; Dean Fred C. Frey, Louisiana State and Harry Best, University of Kentucky were elected to the Executive Committee. Birmingham was selected as the next place of meeting with the University of Alabama and Birmingham-Southern College as joint hosts.

SOCIAL INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

WORKERS' EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

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I

EDUCATION is a favorite panacea for all of society's ills. To the popular mind the word carries a sort of magic; education is the open sesame to culture, to wealth, to social prestige, to all that the human heart craves. Looked at more broadly, it is the great hope of civilization, and so, sooner or later, education insinuates itself into all "movements."

The term is so comprehensive that it is rather difficult to fix the date when education first made its appearance in the labor movement. In a very real sense the training in trade union tactics which comes from active participation in union activities constitutes education, and certainly the learning of a trade must be so classed. Interpreted in this way education has always been present in the labor movement. I shall confine myself in this discussion to deliberate and systematic attempts to make the laborers a stronger force in contemporary society. Workers' education in this more limited sense is relatively new, and the time has been altogether too short to reveal what possibilities it holds for labor's advancement and what its limitations are.

Some doubt exists as to what the pioneer attempt was at organized workers' educa-tion in the United States. This doubt arises chiefly from the fact that there is no generally recognized concept as to just what workers' education itself is. One of the claimants to the honor was the now defunct Ruskin College, formerly located at Trenton, Missouri. Ruskin College was organized in 1900 by a group of socialists, under the leadership of Walter Vrooman, who attempted to operate the institution on a coöperative plan. In fact, they attempted to run not only the college but the town as well. They succeeded in getting possession of several of the local business concerns, but the project was not successful and within a few years the school broke up. Perhaps the Rand School of Social Science should be designated as the pioneer in workers' education. Some would question this on the ground that the Rand School was organized for the promulgation of socialist principles; but on the other hand, there is little doubt that from the beginning the School has made a sincere effort to reach the workers with a realistic educational program. In connection with the Rand School mention should be made of the Workers' School of the Communist Party, since it, too, has a definite political slant, though of a different kind. Established by the Communist Party in 1924,

this school guides the educational work of unions, workers' clubs, and fraternal organizations, and supervises the activities of its branches in a number of the larger cities of the country.

The first systematic attempt on the part of a trade union to develop an educational program was made by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Soon after its 1914 convention this union entered into coöperative arrangements with the Rand School for the joint conducting of courses. The union later expanded its work and established unity centers not only in New York but also in other large cities. Organized educational work soon began to develop among other unions in the needle trades and later began to find its way outside them, taking various forms. Sometimes the unions coöperated with the public schools after the fashion so highly recommended by the A. F. of L.[1] It is the desire of the A. F. of L. that central labor bodies make every effort to obtain from the public schools liberally conducted classes in English, public speaking, parliamentary law, economics, industrial legislation, history of industry, and history of the trade union movement. If the public school system does not show willingness to coöperate in offering appropriate courses and appropriate types of instruction, the central labor body is urged to organize such classes with as much coöperation from the public schools as may be obtained.

Numerous educational enterprises soon developed, some in coöperation with the public schools and the extension departments of universities and some as integral parts of unions or federations of unions. A number of the State Federations of Labor appointed educational directors whose sole

function it was to organize classes and colleges, while others added the educational duties to the prerogatives of some other office. In many cases the labor colleges proved to be abortive; but some of them, for instance the Boston Trade Union College, the Philadelphia Labor College, and the Denver Labor College, have managed to function more or less effectively to the present day. Another phase of trade union educational activity is the work of the educational committees of the central labor unions. In its latest report the executive committee of the Workers' Education Bureau states that there were at that time 270 of these committees.[2]

The resident labor college also occupies an important place in the workers' education movement. Practically all of these colleges receive or have received trade union support, but they have not been out-and-out trade union institutions. Among the resident labor colleges are Work Peoples' College, near Duluth, Minnesota, under the influence of the I. W. W., Commonwealth College, at Mena, Arkansas, and Brookwood Labor College, near Katonah, New York. Perhaps the most significant of these has been Brookwood. In January of this year the director of Brookwood reported that since 1921, the year of the college's establishment, 420 workers representing 61 industries and trades had studied at Brookwood and that after leaving the college these alumni had "made good" as trade union executives, editors, and heads of coöperatives.

A most interesting development has been the establishment of summer schools for wage-earning women. At the present time there are four of these in operation,

[1] A. F. of L., *Proceedings*, 1928, p. 86.

[2] *Report of Executive Committee to the Sixth National Convention of the Workers' Education Bureau of America*, 1929, p. 66.

of which the best known is probably the pioneer, the Bryn Mawr Summer School established in 1921, in which around a hundred students have been registered each summer of the past few years. Because of some friction with the Board of Trustees of the college over strike activities of several members of the school, it was necessary to hold the 1935 summer session off the Bryn Mawr campus. Following a series of conferences an arrangement has been made for the return of the school to the Bryn Mawr campus for a short experimental period. The new board of control is to be composed of an equal number of representatives from Bryn Mawr College and the summer school with the president of the college serving as chairman and thus giving the college a majority on the board. The largest number of students came from the clothing and textile industries and about half were trade union members. There are also summer schools at Barnard College, at the University of Wisconsin, and at Occidental College in California. The Bryn Mawr Summer School is conducted by the Joint Committee of Affiliated Schools for Workers, and the Barnard and Wisconsin Summer Schools are also affiliated with this committee, which is composed of women workers in industry, summer school students, faculty representatives of the schools, and liberal women interested in education. The Occidental School is controlled by a number of coöperating organizations. Somewhat different is the Southern Summer School for Women Workers in Industry, established in 1927 quite independently of any college or university and operated under the auspices of an independent committee of workers and educators. The Vineyard Shore School, located at West Park, New York, opened in October, 1929 with fourteen students enrolled, as the first winter school exclusively for women workers.

A number of interesting enterprises such as the educational work of the industrial department of the Y. W. C. A., Manumit School for Children, Pioneer Youth, coöperative education, and the work done by the Women's Trade Union Unity League should also be mentioned.

One of the most important developments in workers' education was the organization of the Workers' Education Bureau in April, 1921 to provide a national clearing house of information and guidance. At the 1924 convention of the A. F. of L., the Federation approved a plan definitely tying itself up with the Bureau. According to the report of the executive committee to the most recent convention there were affiliated with the Bureau 47 national and international unions, 22 state federations, 132 central labor unions, 428 local unions, and 25 study classes.[3]

The Bureau has had rough sailing of late, chiefly because of clashes between the conservative and the progressive elements. The conflict is something more than a petty factional dispute. It represents a clash of philosophies, a clash of educational aims. After having simmered away quite inconspicuously for a time the trouble suddenly exploded in the vicinity of Brookwood Labor College. Charges of communism were brought against the school. The A. F. of L. withdrew its financial support and urged all its affiliated bodies to do the same. The Bureau finally disaffiliated Brookwood. Largely as a result of this controversy the method of electing members of the executive committee of the Bureau was changed so that the control was placed in the hands of the large unions affiliated with the A. F. of

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 58. Because of the business depression conventions have not been held since 1929.

L. Another important amendment to the constitution provided that "labor colleges should be approved by both central labor unions and state federations of labor, and not be antagonistic to the bona fide labor movement." The net result has been to give the conservative elements rather definitely the upper hand in the Workers' Education Bureau.

In September, 1933, the FERA authorized the use of relief funds to pay unemployed teachers for work on educational projects, of which one was to be adult education. Workers' education was explicitly recognized as a distinct type of adult education, and a specialist in workers' education was appointed to develop this kind of work. Under the emergency education program, workers' education spread rapidly. Training centers for teachers have been established in 13 states. More than 300 classes, with an enrollment estimated at 80,000 or more, are in operation.

The Workers' Education Bureau has taken advantage of the opportunity provided by the FERA to expand its central staff, and has appointed three regional directors to serve in as many sections of the country to develop workers' education among union groups.

II

The path of workers' education like that of all educational enterprises has been beset with difficulties, among the knottiest of which has been the problem of finance and control. All sorts of variations in method of control are to be found. A number of projects, such as the Central Labor Union College, are controlled by labor federations. The individual trade union sometimes carries on its own educational work. This is true, for example, of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which was the first trade union to make a systematic attempt to develop an educational program. The 1914 convention of this union authorized its general executive board to appoint an education committee. This committee soon entered into coöperative arrangements with the Rand School, whereby a number of courses were to be conducted under the joint direction of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Committee and the Rand School. In 1917 the Board of Education of New York City granted the use of four public school buildings for popular lectures and courses given under the auspices of the union. Early in January, 1918, under the same auspices, the Workers' University was opened. The union later expanded its work and established other unity centers for lectures and courses, not only in New York but in other cities, including Boston and Philadelphia. Various educational, health, and social activities are now being carried on at these unity centers, and courses of an advanced character are being given at Workers' University and at the headquarters building of the union. This union took advantage of the opportunity given by the NRA in 1933 to a greater extent probably than any other union in the country, raising its membership from about 30,000 to nearly 200,000. To cope with the great problem of imparting to these large masses of new recruits the fundamentals of trade unionism, the union extended its educational activities until it became the recognized leader in workers' education among trade unions, with a budget for education raised from about $15,000 to over $100,000.

The Socialist Party and the Communist Party have their educational enterprises. Some schools and classes are operated by consumers' coöperative units. Then there are educational experiments, such as the Brookwood Labor College, that were

undertaken and are sponsored largely by labor people but are independent of the official labor movement. Some, like the Southern Summer School, give laborers a voice in control but not a majority. Non-labor elements are in complete control of some projects, for example, the Barnard Summer School. Commonwealth College is controlled entirely by its own faculty and students. And finally there are a number of enterprises, such as those conducted by the industrial department of the Y. W. C. A., that are operated under the official control of benevolent organizations whose interest in workers is but one of many social interests.

The attitude of organized labor toward control is quite definite: workers' education enterprises should be controlled and directed by trade union organizations. Thus the Workers' Education Bureau takes a definite stand by providing in its constitution that an enterprise to be eligible for affiliation must be under trade union control. Many labor leaders, particularly those who call themselves progressives, take violent issue with this position and insist that workers' education must be "vital" and that if the graduates "are to function effectively in the labor movement, the philosophies, policies, and tactics of the movement must be critically scrutinized and evaluated," a policy which it would be exceedingly difficult to carry out under the control of the very organizations which are to be "scrutinized and evaluated." Such critics do, however, favor control by labor leaders and students, though they are not actively hostile to such undertakings as the summer schools for women workers.

The financing of workers' schools also presents a difficult problem; because as all administrators know, sometimes to their sorrow, when all the subterfuges and petty legal formulae have been swept aside, the control of any institution is seen to be vested in the person or persons who hold the purse-strings. And workers' schools like the rest must have money. At a conference of teachers engaged in workers' education in 1926 a resolution was unanimously adopted to the effect that the Workers' Education Bureau should go on record as opposing "the acceptance by agencies for workers' education of money or other assistance from such institutions as the Carnegie Corporation, the General Education Board, or other organizations fundamentally opposed to the interests of the working class." The same resolution was introduced at the 1927 convention of the Workers' Education Bureau but was voted down two to one. The general feeling brought out in the discussion was that money given "without any strings attached" was not "tainted," and that since the unions were not in a position to finance the enterprises themselves they had no choice but to take what they could get as long as the control was placed in their hands. On the whole this policy has been pretty generally followed.

Probably the most important difficulty that has arisen in connection with workers' education has been that of arriving at a general agreement as to its aims. We are not surprised to find that as yet no clear and unified statement of aims acceptable to all is at hand. In dealing with so young a movement we can only set down what its purposes might conceivably be and then ascertain to what extent each of these seems to be working itself out in the United States.

In general it might be said that there are three possible points of view concerning the purpose of workers' education. The first is that the workers should be given an opportunity to obtain the culture and the background of which the necessity of

earning a livelihood at an early age has deprived them. This idea was probably borrowed from England. The English working man is greatly interested in obtaining a cultural education, largely because he believes that it is learning and culture that give the upper classes their power. Culture, to his mind, imparts a sort of Midas touch, and he wants this and goes after it with all the dogged persistence so characteristic of the Englishman. He will read Browning if it kills him. This aim has comparatively few supporters in the United States. It is felt that that kind of education is furnished by our public school system and that a workers' education movement has things to do which no other agency is taking care of.

Reverence for culture as the magic key to success is of course not altogether absent in America. American workmen, too, show a pathetic awe before what they feel, uncomprehendingly but with utter faith, to be the irresistible power of education. Miss Lillian Herstein records an incident illustrating this childlike faith in the mysterious potency of learning. "I recall a workers' class in English composition, where the industrial and social experience of the student was made the subject matter of theme and speech. Matters of technique and grammar had been taught indirectly, properly subordinated to content. Quite accidentally, a question of grammar came up one evening. The teacher, much against her will, had to digress for several minutes to explain the grammatical principle involved. 'This,' declared a middle-aged molder, 'is what we want! We want to learn this grammar business, every bit of it, so we won't be ashamed to open our mouths.' And the murmur of assent that arose from the entire class showed plainly that the speaker was voicing the sentiments of the group."[4]

Nevertheless it will generally be contended by its leaders that the purpose of the workers' education movement should not be to prepare the laborers to leave their own class. It is not that this is regarded as an undesirable aim for a worker to have; but the great mass of laborers cannot be lifted to another level of society by the power of education and they should not be encouraged to cherish a hope which will almost certainly be shattered. The leaders are fully aware that a real problem is created by the prevalence of this ambition, for classes in the cultural subjects are sometimes very attractive to the workers. The problem cannot be solved simply by eliminating all purely cultural subjects from the curriculum. The worker after all is a human being; and it is a serious question whether he should be denied the opportunity to study literature or art, or music, especially since he may be doing it to indulge a genuine taste rather than because of an ambition to rise to a higher social level.

Most labor leaders are one in the opinion that the aim of workers' education should be primarily to train the worker to be what he is, a worker, and not to be something else. But here agreement ends, and the leaders fall back into two camps. The one group, comprising the dominant element in the A. F. of L., believes that the aim should be to train the workers for more intelligent and efficient union membership, that the movement should take its place in the union program as a general trade-union policy. The union has certain definite objectives. Standards of living are to be maintained, wages are to be increased, the length of the working-day is to be shortened, control over working

[4] J. B. S. Hardman (Editor), *American Labor Dynamics*, p. 378.

conditions is to be exercised, strikes are to be conducted; and problems are continually arising in connection with all of these activities which require knowledge of industrial conditions, of trade-union tactics, of trade-union history, of trade-union organization. It is such knowledge as this that workers' education should impart. In addressing the 1922 convention of the Workers' Education Bureau, Samuel Gompers declared: "To teach men and women of labor, to belong to their trades or labor unions, to stand by them, to try to improve the physical, spiritual and mental standards and to direct sentiment and aspirations is the tremendous task before your organization. To accomplish that work to the fullest degree should be the policy and the purpose of your organization; so long as that is your purpose you will have the support of the A. F. of L."[5]

The executive council of the A. F. of L. made the following statement to the 1928 convention of that body: "But not all educational work can be delegated to the public school authorities. There is a specific trade union field. There are the problems of making the trade union more effective, of meeting specific industrial situations, of managing a union most efficiently, of formulating union policies, etc. There are matters that must be under union control. Facts, information, and discussions are necessary for the solution of these problems. Such matters are properly within the field of workers' education and the more closely that educational work is connected with union activity and union meetings the more effective it will be."[6] Workers' education, to the A. F. of L, is a device for making the trade unions more efficient—with the understanding always

[5] Workers' Education Bureau of America, *Proceedings*, 1922, p. 93.

[6] A. F. of L., *Proceedings, 1928*, pp. 86-87.

that the unions to be helped in this manner shall function in accordance with their own traditions. This is further emphasized by the fact that before an educational enterprise can be affiliated with the Workers' Education Bureau, it must be approved by both the central labor union in its district and the state federation of labor and must not be antagonistic to the bona fide labor movement.

Another group, however, holds that the aim of workers' education should be not only to make more efficient and loyal trade unionists but also to prepare the students for a new social order. This aim has been so well stated by Mr. J. B. S. Hardman, a leader of the progressive labor movement who has been very active in the development of the educational program of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, that I quote him at some length. He says, "To begin with, workers' education is not adult education. It is more than that. It is wider in scope, different, and more complicated. A university may offer extension courses in labor subjects and attract a large and almost purely working class audience. That would not be workers' education, however. Workers' unions may engage the teachers and pay the rent for the hall where labor courses are given, and even if such courses be attended by working men and women, it will not be a venture in workers' education. Not quite. Why? Because primarily the workers see in education not only what others see in it, but also a powerful means toward the end which most concerns them. That end is a change in the conditions of social living. . . . Labor wants 'things' changed, and the labor ideal of education is one of education for social reconstruction and readjustment. The concomitant of the labor movement, workers' education, demands the type of education which trains

such habits of mind in the workers as will help them to secure the desired changes in the social order."[7]

Thus the aims of workers' education may be classed under three heads: (1) to broaden the cultural outlook of the worker; (2) to increase the effectiveness of trade-union activity; and (3) to prepare the workers for a new social order. It can be stated with certainty that the latter two are dominant in the United States. The first has never commanded enough support to make it the subject of a controversy; whereas the proponents of the latter two have already clashed in a battle so fierce that it has seriously interrupted the progress of the movement. The fight between Brookwood College and the A. F. of L. was clearly based upon their divergent concepts of the purpose of workers' education.

III

Though workers' education has called forth a good deal of activity in recent years it cannot as yet be said to have developed a definite ideal and a definite program. Even its strongest adherents point, not to its accomplishments, which are admittedly meager, but to its potentialities. These, of course, are altogether incalculable, depending as they do upon so many factors which can neither be predicted nor controlled. It is possible that workers' education holds within it the seeds of a revivified labor movement that will raise the laboring class to new heights of health, safety, and happiness, and do so without serious unrest and disturbance; but if this be true, only fertile soil and solicitous care will make any such result possible.

One of the most discouraging things about the workers' education movement

[7] J. B. S. Hardman, "Workers' Education," *Forum*, 75: 450 (Mar., 1926).

has been the lack of response on the part of the workers themselves. Classes have been organized and a rush of enthusiasm has swelled the enrollments, but before long the arduousness of sustained intellectual effort has taken its toll. This is not at all surprising. The whole system of American education points to just such an outcome. Results must be tangible and fairly immediate, or must promise to be, in order to sustain interest and attendance for any length of time. From the primary to the graduate school the student is accumulating credits which will count toward a degree of some kind. Remove the credit and the degree and how long, without compulsion, would attendance hold up? It is unreasonable to expect that the worker will do what the "student" seldom does—attend classes and study assiduously just because he loves to learn. And the motive must be especially strong in the case of the worker because usually he must attend his classes after a day of toil. Intellectual accomplishment is not easy in such circumstances, even for the brightest and most eager.

Undoubtedly another reason for the worker's waning enthusiasm lies in the nature of his environment and past experience. There is much in this to militate against intellectual perseverance. Probably he quit the public school as soon as the law permitted, and probably study was not the biggest thing in his life even while he was in school. Most of his time and most of his energy have gone into other sorts of effort, and such mental processes as he has engaged in have been largely concerned with his immediate job. His horizon has been extremely narrow. Even those workers who belong to trade unions are inclined to participate actively in the union's activities only when some immediate interest is at stake. It is a long jump from such a mental setting

to a class where regular and serious study is expected—too long for many workers who at the start have felt very ambitious. The experience is too new and strange, too great an adjustment is demanded.

It may be that there are not enough good teachers. This is a real possibility, for where are the teachers to come from? The labor movement in America has produced leaders, but have these men had the training and do they possess the vision to impart to others the true significance of learning? The trade unions have jealously guarded their offices from encroachment by men who have not come up through the ranks. This may have been a wise policy on the whole, but it has certainly robbed them of men with the academic equipment that is requisite to good teaching; and conversely it has barred the professional teacher from the intimate contact with the labor movement which is so necessary in the teaching of workers about social movements. Good teachers will have to be produced either by a closer coöperation between the unions and the "intellectuals" or by suitable training of the young workers. Either process will take time, and meanwhile the education movement cannot be expected to progress very rapidly.

It may be that the lack of a well-formulated aim has prevented the workers from being more responsive. It is doubtful, of course, whether such an aim can be worked out ahead of time, whether it does not have to grow with experience. Possibly the opportunistic policy so dominant in the American labor movement has made itself felt here. A policy of getting immediate results rather than of working out a long-time program may answer the purpose as far as wages are concerned, but education is a different matter. An educational enterprise can be adequately planned only by men who have vision, who can look past today and see the needs and opportunities of tomorrow, and who have infinite patience. Usually immediate and visible results are expected from the courses offered by the various schools. If the subject is drama, then the play must exhibit the life of the worker in such a way that his cause will be furthered. If it is public speaking, then the young student must be trained to stir convention delegates to action and to put labor's case before the public in a persuasive manner. Results, results, immediate, practical results! Perhaps this philosophy has so dominated not only organized labor but American life in general that it is altogether too much to expect the workers to throw off its influence in formulating their programs of education.

Whatever the cause or causes it is evident that if workers' education is to make a major contribution to the labor movement in America, that contribution lies in the future. The first flash of success coming from initial enthusiasm has gone. Hard work lies ahead. No sudden or drastic improvement in the workers' lot can be expected to result from workers' education. But most students will agree that a reanimated labor movement is needed in the United States, and it may be that workers' education will supply some of the necessary vigor and will thus be at least one determining factor in setting the course of the American labor movement. The extent of its contribution is a matter which only the future can decide.

LIBRARY AND WORKSHOP

Special Book Reviews by L. L. BERNARD, ERNEST R. GROVES, FRANK H. HANKINS, CLARK WISSLER, RUPERT B. VANCE, FLOYD N. HOUSE, MALCOLM WILLEY, AND OTHERS

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REGIONALISM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE?

WAYLAND J. HAYES

Vanderbilt University

SOUTHERN REGIONS OF THE UNITED STATES. By Howard W. Odum for the Southern Regional Committee of the Social Science Research Council. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936. xi + 664 pp. Maps, tables, graphs, and charts. $4.00

It is a heroic undertaking to comprehend, measure, and predict the strains, tensions, and trends in an empire or region which is moving rapidly toward social upheaval and the dangerous alternatives of inevitable reorganization. Professor Odum has convincingly achieved such a comprehensive picture, detailed measurement, and prophetic insight of the Southeastern Region of the United States. The volume is not only a monumental contribution to regional research, but a basis for statesmanship as well. By the use of more than seven hundred objective measures the capacities and potentialities of a people and a region are shown to be unrealized because of time lag, waste, and preventible deficiencies. "It is this meas-

uring and bridging of the chasm between possibilities and actualities which constitutes a definitive quality of this whole regional appraisal, which must bring to its task the sweep of imaginative exploration and the solid base of factual support."

The objectives and methods of the study follow very closely the work memorandum submitted to the Social Science Research Council in 1932 in which it was stated that the study "will be descriptive and explanatory, comparative, and purposive." It was to comprehend: the "physical geography and natural resources, together with the visible and measurable ends of industrial and scientific activity in their utilization; and population and cultural resources, together with the visualized ends of social activity towards organization and achievement in their development." The study was to be "comparative, but more for the purpose of description and interpretation than for the implications of final evaluation or uniformly desirable change toward the leveling or standardizing of activities and cultures." The result was to be a picture of the southern regions, a comparison of this picture with other regions, and a comparison of subregions within the area. It was frankly set up as an approach to social planning and as an exploration of "the best methods of making an effective regional study."

The first part of the volume contains the interpretations and conclusions under twenty major categories in 273 numbered paragraphs. Independently of the text, a picture of the Southeastern Region and its relation to the five other great regions of the nation may be gained from the hundreds of maps, charts, and tables which occur on practically every alternative page of the entire study. Interpretation of some of the detailed maps and graphs is difficult on account of the space given to

them, but, for the most part the data are conveniently, logically, and vividly organized.

The focus of the study is upon the Southeastern Region. The Southwest is emphasized only by way of showing its extreme differentials in terms of historical development, dry climate, limited erosion, large farms, mineral resources and development, lower ratio of Negro population and tenancy, and the dynamic motivation of the people. By the use of indices of wealth—natural, technological, artificial, institutional, and ethnological—the relatively homogeneous Southeastern Region is delineated. It is found to contain eleven states including Louisiana and Arkansas, but excluding West Virginia, Maryland, and Missouri. The region is marked by geographical, historical, and cultural similarities; although an exhaustive examination of the indices reveals very divergent subregions. One of the significant facts emerging from the study is that "the South" or "Solid South" is really quite heterogeneous, so that Virginia, for instance, is more like the East than it is like Mississippi, and the "cotton belt" is very unlike the Appalachian Highlands.

The study demonstrates the eloquence and force of mobilized facts. The southern scene becomes alive as the implications of data on deficiency and waste are set over against the clear evidences of abundant potential resources. A mere glimpse of the scene may come from a few characteristic details. The region has experienced a long series of crises and tragedies including war, reconstruction, depressions, floods, and infestations. It clings to a colonial-commercial system of agriculture, an extensive farm tenancy, a personal machine-dominated politics, a religious fundamentalism, and pioneer values. The major forms of waste are the exhaustion

and erosion of soils, and the replenishing of other areas through the migration of excess population and talented leadership. Some deficiencies are the lowest of incomes, the lowest coöperative sales, the lowest ratio of purebred livestock, the lowest production of dairy products, low carrying capacity of pasture lands, extraordinary expenditures for commercial fertilizers, low rank in mechanical techniques of farming and living, and deficiencies in health, literacy, and general cultural activities. Over against this, a selection from the catalogue of marvelous resources indicates that the Southeastern Region has nearly all the potentialities needed for a good life. Its advantages in rainfall, sunshine, soils, forests, minerals, water power, wild life, rivers, coastline, and vigorous human stock are obvious potentialities. With such resources it does not seem to be an impossible dream for the Region to develop grazing lands with flocks and herds, abundant and varied fruits and vegetables, balanced diets, reasonable comforts, educational opportunities, balanced industrial production, and fair incomes.

However, instances of the wide gap between possibility and realization can be multiplied without number. Milk is shipped from other regions to Florida across states well adapted to dairying, but whose populations go undernourished for lack of a proper milk diet. California markets more eggs in New York than do the Carolinas. Christmas trees and apples are shipped from other regions into states where evergreens are abundant and orchards thrive. Quantities of hay, corn, and beef are brought into the region.

Extensive and exhaustive analysis leads the author to recognize an approaching crisis. The single-cash-crop-fertilizer-land-washing economy is producing unrest, class conflict, mass protests, dema-

goguery, radical rumblings, and dictatorships. Cotton production, which is the key to the regional economy, is declining. The trend is likely to continue on account of decreasing exports, foreign production, substitutes replacing home consumption, unfavorable advantage of southwestern competition, soil depletion, and demands for higher standards of living for workers. In the face of such a crisis, it is logical for the author to suggest social planning as a more promising solution than mere drifting or wishing for the return of a simpler era.

Planning is not defined in Utopian terms nor in the fixed objectives which involve regimentation and totalitarianism. It is defined, rather, in terms of management and flexible democratic control. It is not put forth as an easy solution, and all the public skepticism, resistance, fear, and ridicule are anticipated. The immensity, complexity, and difficulty are clearly set forth. The well nigh insurmountable problems of race relations and machine politics are not blinked. But agricultural colleges have already demonstrated the feasibility of planning in numberless experiments. Federal programs have shown that the economic system of a region may be influenced quickly and somewhat satisfactorily. Besides, trends toward metropolitan, state, and national planning give promise of socialized motivation. Since regional planning is comprehensive enough to embrace a homogeneous area but not so large as to involve the evils of extensive bureaucracy, the region becomes the major unit of planning. It is proposed, therefore, that representatives from State planning boards augmented by a small membership-at-large be selected as regional planning committees to coordinate the research and management by states. It is further suggested that efforts be con-

centrated upon a few selected objectives and priority schedules. Two objectives seem paramount at the beginning, viz., (1) reorganization and development of agriculture through practical programs of optimum production worked out in relation to industrial development and foreign trade; and (2) a very genuine development of institutions of higher learning. The first of these is basic to economic reconstruction and the second is necessary to institutional and technological leadership.

Although the material looking "towards regional planning" is not intended as a blueprint, it does furnish a wealth of detail concerning the major strategy for strengthening institutional centers in the region, for developing a comprehensive framework of inquiry and action, and setting up well designed experimental units of work.

If the crisis is to be met and the values of planning achieved, it is essential for people of the southern regions to develop "a more realistic facing of the facts," and

to achieve "a great unity of effort with the resulting diminution of internal jealousies and rivalries of states and institutions." Before the Southeastern Region chooses the isolation, cultural inbreeding, conflict, and probable dictatorship of a "new sectionalism," it should face all the facts and implications of regionalism. The latter recognizes that it is to the mutual advantage of all regions to develop their unique powers, but also to understand and utilize the supplementary resources which each affords the other.

In Lippmann's terms, it may be guessed that almost every literate Southerner has some picture of "The South" in his head. It may also be guessed that the individual pictures may vary from a glamorous feudal ideal to a "Tobacco Road." Since clear thinking and clear acting depend upon an accurate picture, it is important that the volume on *Southern Regions of the United States* immediately become the basis of public opinion and the point of departure for further scientific research.

PUBLIC WELFARE

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PUBLIC WELFARE ORGANIZATION. By Arthur C. Millspaugh. Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1935. 700 pp. $3.50.

To the small group of books on public welfare administration in the United States—Howard W. Odum and D. W. Willard, *Systems of Public Welfare*, 1925; Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, *Public Welfare Administration in the United States: Select Documents*, 1927; Robert W. Kelso, *The Sciene of Public Welfare*, 1928; George B. Mangold, *Organization for Social Welfare*, 1934—has now been added a fifth volume. The four preceding volumes have been written by those whose primary interest

is in public welfare, or social work, or the application of the principles of the social sciences to the solution of social problems—some or all of these, from the point of the student, the teacher, the administrator. Dr. Millspaugh approaches the subject from the point of view of the political scientist.

The first part of the book—127 pages— is devoted to what is termed "basic considerations"—the social, economic, and political changes of the nineteenth century; the attempts at social adjustment to these changed and changing conditions; "Democracy and Depression;" private

organizations—their characteristics and
relations to public administration; the
functions of public welfare and their rela-
tion to other social welfare functions of
the government—education, labor ad-
ministration, public health, the courts.

Part II of the volume discusses organi-
zation as it is—the number and variety of
agencies in the various states engaged in
the administration of public welfare func-
tions and the progress toward integration
of these functions. A study of the number
of welfare agencies by states suggests that
the degree of integration or lack of inte-
gration is not a criterion by which one
may judge the quality of social services in
the state. "It does not appear that any
absolutely convincing correlations can be
established between the degree of organi-
zational integration and the social condi-
tion of the state."

If public welfare functions are to extend
beyond institutional supervision or control
and general social planning, there must be
local units small enough to be in intimate
touch with local community problems and
to render needed services to individuals.
Although consideration must be given to
the municipality and the township or
town and significance attaches also to
certain other units, "the local unit that is
most interesting in a study of public wel-
fare organization is the county." The
slight progress that has been made toward
organizing public welfare so as to render
in local communities services comparable
to those of the private family service
agencies is evident from the fact that
judged by statutes there were only six
states "where general county welfare
agencies are extensively established with
relatively broad jurisdictions." Among
these six is a state whose county program
after being eclipsed by the federal emer-
gency relief program is now undergoing
reorganization, and another state in which

the public welfare program appears to
have been replaced by the emergency relief
program and now by the W. P. A. pro-
gram. "In no state can it be said that
welfare organization in all areas is fully
developed or highly integrated. County
agencies show much the same peculiarities,
forms, influences, and stages of growth
that characterize state agencies; but
county organization reflects in general a
narrower range of functions, a much more
restricted sphere of authority, and a con-
siderably more complicated set of condi-
tioning factors. In the counties, too, the
statute law is an exceedingly unreliable
guide to what actually exists. In many
cases agencies provided by law are actually
nonexistent, and in few states is any
statutory organization consistently es-
tablished and uniformly functioning in all
counties."

One chapter each is devoted to state
and local organization in each of five sub-
fields of public welfare: the adult delin-
quent; the mentally diseased and mentally
deficient; the dependent and the unem-
ployed; the physically diseased and handi-
capped; and the child. One chapter
discusses the various forms of overhead
control by the legislature and by the
governor and subordinate executive offi-
cials and boards. The final chapter of this
division is devoted to attempts at co-
ordination, made necessary not only by
the multiplicity of agencies, but even more
by specialized functional development.
Of the 700 pages of the volume, 205 are
devoted to this analysis of "organization
as it is."

Part III of the volume, after discussing
the difficulties of evaluating the public
welfare organizations in the various
states, raises the question as to whether
any public welfare agency can be justified.
Penal and correctional institutions might
have developed within the field of law

enforcement, or of judicial administration. Mental health is a branch of medicine and might be organized under public health. Dependency conceived as a problem of economic adjustment and of insurance might be identified with labor administration. "Even now it appears that a program for the prevention of dependency may include industrial control, economic planning, unemployment insurance, wages and hours legislation, taxation, special attention to stranded classes, vocational education, employment placement, housing, legal aid, birth control, health insurance, accident insurance, regulation of insurance companies, and old-age pensions. Few of these social instrumentalities bear much resemblance to the established public welfare functions." Well maybe not, but the second of the enumerated duties of the North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare is:

To study the subjects of unemployment, poverty, vagrancy, housing conditions, crime, public amusement, care and treatment of prisoners, divorce and wife desertion, the social evil and kindred subjects and their causes, treatment, and prevention, and the prevention of any hurtful social condition.

The President's Research Committee on Social Trends, to which the author refers, found a trend toward the extension of the scope of public welfare to include "rehabilitation, legal liability, community organization and leadership in social welfare."

Dr. Willspaugh concludes, however, that "it seems pretty definitely established that there should be as a general rule one public welfare agency in which the service functions may be for the most part integrated." It is reasonably clear also that public welfare services should be integrated with institutional control. But "the welfare reorganizer can find nowhere among social and political facts any bedrock of unshakable truth on which to build his system. Perhaps the only definite principle for him to adopt is that, in a changing society, political, governmental, and administrative organization must likewise change."

In a chapter on the reorganization of federal public welfare functions, Dr. Millspaugh favors using the Department of Labor not only because several important public welfare functions head up here, but also because

The economic implications of personal and social maladjustments cannot be safely ignored; and if any substantial progress is to be made in correcting these maladjustments, the ideas, policies, and procedures which cluster around the word labor must be realistically identified with other social welfare conceptions.

One of the most interesting sub-sections of the book is the discussion of social work as a profession. The author places this discussion where it belongs in an early chapter among "basic considerations." In discussing the efforts of social workers to make social work a profession, Dr. Millspaugh says: "If social work is defined from the point of view of its ultimate objectives—its fundamental philosophy—case work technique must assume a subsidiary and relatively insignificant rôle. On the other hand, if case-work technique is made the common denominator, a large and growing number of preventive activities cannot be looked upon as professional social work." "The achievement of professional status, spirit, and organization may be a valuable, though not an essential, aid in improving public personnel." On the other hand, "A profession . . . tends to become an interest group." "Something highly essential to good administration and to social progress may be lost if public welfare administration should be too largely controlled by any profession." Public welfare administration is a task to be identified with social leadership, with statesmanship,

with "social engineering." In this posi-
tion Dr. Millspaugh is, in the main, in
accord with one group—apparently a
minority group—interested in the training
of social workers. The best statement of
this position, perhaps, is to be found in
Howard W. Odum's *An Approach to Public*
Welfare and Social Work, to which refer-
ence is made by Dr. Millspaugh in a
footnote.

The volume is a very valuable addition
to the small group of books devoted to
this increasingly important phase of public
administration.

SOCIAL WORK AND DELINQUENCY

WILEY B. SANDERS

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SOCIAL WORK YEAR BOOK, 1935. Edited by Fred S.
Hall. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1935.
698 pp. $4.00.
WAYWARD YOUTH. By August Aichhorn, New York:
Viking Press, 1935. 236 pp. $2.75.
THE SOCIAL WORKER IN THE PREVENTION AND TREAT-
MENT OF DELINQUENCY. By Margaretta William-
son, New York: Columbia University Press, 1935.
236 pp. $2.50.
THE DELINQUENT BOY AND THE CORRECTIONAL SCHOOL.
By Norman Fenton, *et al.*, Claremont, California:
Claremont College's Guidance Center, 1935. 182
pp. Cloth $2.00; Paper $1.50.

Since the Social Work Year Book was
first issued in 1929 this volume in its
periodical revisions has come to be perhaps
the most popular and widely used refer-
ence book in the literature of social work.
No social worker who expects to keep up
with recent developments in the field out-
side his own specialty can afford to be
without it. The Year Book is essentially
an up-to-date "description of organized
activities in social work and in related
fields," presented in the form of topical
articles, each written by a recognized
authority. As its editor indicates, the
volume is a record of what is, not a manual
of what ought to be. It avoids discussion
of social work philosophy, proposals for
reform, and expressions of personal
opinion. It is concerned with factual
data, not theory. Incidentally, the policy
adopted in 1929 of presenting the his-
torical development of each type of work
was abandoned in subsequent issues on
account of space limitations.

Although various topics presented in the
1929 and in the 1933 issue of the Year Book
are not included in the present issue, the
latest volume contains much valuable new
material, particularly a description of the
work of Federal agencies in the relief field
since the depression. The directory in
Part II contains 413 national and inter-
national agencies, 526 public state
agencies, and, as a new feature, 51 state-
wide private agencies, particularly state
conferences of social work. The refer-
ences listed at the end of the topical
articles include 1,502 books and 386 maga-
zine articles—an invaluable bibliography
of social work literature, especially for
students and teachers in schools of social
work.

In 1934, a group of Americans working
in psychoanalysis in Vienna, feeling that
Dr. August Aichhorn's outstanding work
as director of the child guidance clinic of
Vienna should be more generally known,
volunteered to translate from the German
his book *Verwahrloste Jugend* (Wayward
Youth), the chapters of which were pre-
sented originally as lectures before an
audience composed of candidates in the
training school of the Vienna Psycho-
analytic Society. A follower of Freud
(who writes the foreword to the book),

Dr. Aichhorn presents several cases of delinquent children from the psychoanalytic viewpoint. The descriptive material in each case impresses the reader as being too fragmentary, and as being selected with a view to bearing out the author's conclusions. In other words, the reader does not have all the facts which would enable him to draw perhaps a different conclusion from the author. The author himself is aware of the insufficiency of his data in several of the cases as evidenced by the fact that the entire case analysis hangs upon a supposition or an assumption. Occasionally the successful outcome of a case is attributed by the author to his *intuition* (psychoanalytic insight) in selecting the right method of treatment, as when a seventeen year old homosexual boy was put to work in the tailor shop where the making of men's clothes would serve as a sublimation for his homosexual strivings. The final chapters of the book are devoted to a discussion of certain concepts as *transference*, *catharsis*, the *reality principle*, and the *ego-ideal*.

Dr. Aichhorn's principal thesis is that there are regular stages in the emotional development of the individual from infancy to adulthood, and that delinquency is the result of some disturbance in this development, either "an inhibition of development or of a regression, which takes place somewhere along the path from primitive reality adaptation to social adaptation." Anti-social acts such as truancy, vagrancy, stealing, and the like, are merely symptoms of delinquency, and the disappearance of a symptom of delinquency does not indicate a cure. In getting at the causation of dissocial behavior, therefore, the social worker should not be content with finding out when the child was born, at what age he began to talk and walk, etc., but he should be more interested

in learning about the child's earliest libidinal relationship. Delinquency may be the result of too much love and affection, but "the great majority of children in need of retraining come into conflict with society because of an unsatisfied need for tenderness and love in their childhood." The cure of delinquency is fundamentally a problem of libido.

As the fourth unit in the Social Work job analysis series undertaken by the American Association of Social Workers, *The Social Worker in the Prevention and Treatment of Delinquency* is primarily a description of present day practices of probation and parole officers, policewomen, visitors with a protective agency, and workers in a Big Brother or Big Sister organization. The duties and responsibilities of these officials, their qualifications, hours of work, compensation, relationship to other members of their staff and to outside agencies, are clearly presented, particularly from the viewpoint of the large city agency. Samples of workers' diaries covering their activities for a specific day give a touch of concrete detail to a volume inclined to be too composite and abstract. Although it is not intended to be a manual of instruction for the worker, since it does not set up standards or give critical analyses of technique, this book should prove valuable to probation officers and parole officers in giving them a clearer picture of the scope of their work. The chapters dealing with work in a protective agency duplicate to some extent material covered in a previous volume in the series, *The Social Worker in Child Care and Protection*.

The worker, in an institution for juvenile delinquents, the educational psychologist, the parole officer, and the social research worker, will find delightfully entertaining and instructive Dr. Fenton's description of the institutional program at

the Whittier State School for mentally normal delinquent boys in California. The description of the child guidance conference, the program of vocational education, and the method of preparing the boy for return to the community are especially stimulating. A statistical analysis of the Boy's Own Story, giving the age at onset (median 10 years) and duration of delinquency (three to four years), reasons for engaging in delinquency and the circumstances attendant upon it, and attitudes toward home and family, represent an original contribution. That the discipline in this institution is constructive rather than repressive is indicated by the fact that punishment is banned, and its use by any employee is ground for immediate dismissal. A study of boys on parole from Whittier indicates a relatively high proportion of successful adjustment to the community. Pictures and an excellent bibliography add to the attractiveness of this well-rounded study.

THE APPRAISAL OF PUBLIC HEALTH ACTIVITIES IN PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA, 1930 and 1933. By Marion H. Ewalt and Ira V. Hiscock. Pittsburgh: Bureau of Social Research, Federation of Social Agencies of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, 1935. 125 pp. $1.00.

"With the completion of this appraisal," says the Preface to this report, "Pittsburgh joins other modern cities which have appraised the volume of their organized public health activities and services in relation to a yardstick developed by the American Public Health Association." The collection of the data called for by the appraisal forms was done locally under the direction of Mrs. Ewalt of the Research Staff of the Federation of Social Agencies, while Professor Hiscock, from the background of his wide experiences with the use of the appraisal form in other communities, assisted in the interpretation of data and the formulation of recommendations.

In the evaluation of its total program Pittsburgh receives a rating of 790 out of a possible 1000 points. It is weakest in venereal disease control, milk and food inspection, pre-school hygiene, and tuberculosis control. The best ratings are for vital statistics, maternity and infant hygiene, and laboratory service. Rather less of the total health program is carried by the Department of Health than is generally considered desirable.

Were it only for the vast array of facts about Pittsburgh, this survey would have little more than local significance. The use of the A. P. H. A. yardstick in a city of its size and importance, however, with the counsel and direction of such an authority as Professor Hiscock, makes it an important contribution to the accumulating evidence of the strengths and weaknesses of this method of community appraisal. Other fields of social work have not as yet developed comparable standards and look with envy upon the definiteness and detail with which public health authorities are able to challenge local community opinion through the appraisal ratings. Already the National Recreation Association has made a similar beginning in the field of public recreation and it will be surprising if others do not follow.

This appraisal form as used in Pittsburgh is the result of over ten years of experimentation and revision. It divides public health activities into 11 different categories—vital statistics, laboratory service, acute communicable disease, venereal disease, tuberculosis, maternity and infant hygiene, pre-school hygiene, school hygiene, general sanitation, food and milk control. It outlines very detailed information to be gathered under each heading in a printed form of 133 pages, and has an elaborately worked out and weighted

rating scale applicable to each set of facts. The standards are in part a matter of expert opinion and in part a matter of practice, each individual standard being equalled or excelled in 25 per cent of the cities for which data are available. While most of these standards are quantitative a good many are definitely qualitative based upon accepted administrative practices.

It has been amply demonstrated that local surveys, using the appraisal form in the same way as did the Pittsburgh surveyors, bring results in terms of improved community health service. The comparison of the rating of an individual community with national averages or with other communities similarly situated is admirably adapted to the stimulation of local interest. Standards carrying the weight of recognized authority help insure that criticisms will be taken seriously. Many of them apply to specific practices which do not involve much additional expenditure or drastic reorganization and these can usually be easily effected. The completeness of the outline focuses attention upon the total program and brings into perspective the relationship of its different parts. The process of gathering the data can be made to draw in all the agencies involved and serve a very useful educational purpose. In Pittsburgh, for example, functional committees were organized in the major divisions of the survey and the factual data submitted to them for decision and the formulation of recommendations. The whole report was presented to and discussed by the executive board of the County Medical Society.

A strict adherence to the appraisal outline in a local survey, however, does have certain inherent limitations. The form does not, first of all, provide an outline for the study of organization and administration. The Pittsburgh survey, ad-mirably as it measures the end results which the combined efforts of the agencies in the field are obtaining, is much less clear regarding desirable administrative changes within individual organizations, does not deal definitely with questions involving overlapping in functions, and has few suggestions regarding the possibilities of mergers or elimination of agencies. The statement is made at the outset "that there is a lack of coördination of activities." Coördination of activities is such a loose phrase that its use must be accompanied by detailed specifications and practical remedial procedures and in this respect the survey is lacking. Services for the care and supervision of infants for example are provided by five service agencies, public and private, one special hospital, fourteen general hospitals. The only recommendation is the general one that a committee be appointed to study the problem. The use of the appraisal form alone does not provide for a special report on each individual agency with changes which it should make in order to conform to a better community pattern, and while this may have been done by the surveyors in Pittsburgh there is nothing in the printed report to indicate that this was the case. An exception should be made to the Department of Health for which the appraisal form provides a detailed schedule and about which the Pittsburgh survey makes definite recommendations.

A second limiting factor is the fact that in the appraisal form results are not related to expenditures. Except for the Department of Health costs are not included. In Pittsburgh between 1930–33 the general rating of the whole health program advanced from 730 points to 790 points and in that same period the expenditures in the Department of Health decreased more than one-third. There is nothing in the survey which tells whether

this same thing was true of the other agencies in the field and if so, what made for this rather striking increase in efficiency per dollar expended.

A third point is a natural corollary of these two. The standards set by the appraisal form are admittedly high. They bulwark the case for additional expenditure and over a long run period of time no one would deny the usefulness of that procedure. In any given year, however, or in any short run period, a city council or a community chest is apt to have available for its health appropriation a fairly well fixed sum of money. A survey based on the appraisal forms can show very clearly where additional expenditures are desirable but only by implication does it show how to get the maximum community efficiency out of the money actually in hand.

None of these things vitiate either the unique contribution which the appraisal form has made to the development of public health or the excellence of this particular survey. They merely suggest the importance of clearly defining the type of problem to be attacked in a given local situation before deciding that the exclusive use of this particular survey pattern is best adapted to its practical solution.

BRADLEY BUELL.

Community Chests & Councils, Inc.

MOTHER AND CHILD

ERNEST R. GROVES

University of North Carolina

So You're Going to Have a Baby. By Helen Washburn. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1933. 195 pp.

Healthy Babies Are Happy Babies. A Handbook for Modern Mothers. By Josephine Hemenway Kenyon. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1934. 321 pp.

Maternity Handbook. By The Maternity Center Association, New York City. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1932. 178 pp.

Modern Motherhood. By Claude Edwin Heaton. New York: Farrar & Rhinehart, Inc., 1935. 271 pp. $2.00.

Your New Baby. How to Prepare for It and Care for It. By Linda McClure Woods. New York: Robert M. McBride & Company, 1935. 247 pp. $2.00.

Let's Talk About Your Baby. By H. Kent Tenney, Jr. Madison, Wisconsin: Kilgore Printing Company, 1934. 106 pp. $1.50.

Will It Be A Boy? By Fridtjof Okland. New York: The Century Company, 1932. 116 pp. $1.50.

Mental Deficiency Due to Birth Injuries. By Edgar A. Doll, Winthrop M. Phelps, and Ruth Taylor Melcher. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932. 289 pp.

Fetal, Newborn, and Maternal Morbidity and Mortality. By Committee on Prenatal and Maternal Care, The White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1933. 486 pp. $3.00.

The Physical and Mental Growth of Prematurely Born Children. By Julius H. Hess, George J. Mohr, and Phyllis F. Bartelme. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934. 499 pp. $5.00.

Motherhood is one of the human experiences toward which the sociologist cannot become indifferent. Pregnancy and childbirth, in addition to a physiological and racial significance, have aspects distinctly sociological. About them gathers social pressure such as Dr. Hollingworth has so well interpreted. (Social Devices for Impelling Women to Bear and Rear Children," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXII, No. 1, July, 1916, pp. 19–29. Also, the childbirth trends at any given time have profound, intricate, and far-reaching social consequences. Therefore, these books discuss-

ing some phase of motherhood have value not only for students of the family interested in population but also for those concerned with problems of social psychology and social evolution.

Washburn's book has a peculiar purpose. It is written for those women who who are hesitating at the gate and who, before entering into parenthood, wish to count its cost to themselves personally and to know how to protect from its hazards. For the woman who insists upon coming to motherhood with deliberation, and the number of such women is increasing, this book will prove useful.

Healthy Babies are Happy Babies, *Maternity Handbook*, *Modern Motherhood*, and *Your New Baby* are all written to help women understand and handle, so far as the responsibilities belong to them, the problems of pregnancy, childbirth, and the care of the infant. Necessarily they cover similar ground, but the first is distinguished by a clear-cut, time classification, chapter by chapter, which carries the baby from conception to the end of three years. For example, we have "The Baby at Birth," "The Baby at Two Weeks of Age," and "The Baby from Two to Three Weeks," thus making it easy for the mother to realize the changing situation until the end of early infancy has arrived.

Dr. Tenney's book is also different in that it is presented in the form of friendly chats about matters of physical care that mothers often misunderstand.

Okland's book will disappoint those who attempt to find from it some means of deciding the sex of their desired child. It is merely a popular presentation of the effort that is being made, chiefly through investigations in the realm of animals, to discover whether means can be found for the control of sex.

Although *Mental Deficiency Due to Birth Injuries* is written for the physician and for those concerned with the various forms of idiocy resulting from brain injuries in childbirth, the book is of value to students of the family, especially those who through their teaching emphasize marriage.

Fetal, Newborn, and Maternal Morbidity and Mortality is a compilation of material brought together by the Committee on Prenatal and Maternal Care for President Hoover's White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. It covers a wider field than the former book and is even more needed in the library of the student of marriage.

The Physical and Mental Growth of Prematurely Born Children is distinctly a medical book, highly technical in form. It is an authoritative source of information regarding problems that are sure to arise in class discussions in marriage courses, and its findings will interest and impress both men and women students, since both seek knowledge concerning the cause, the proper treatment, and the survival chances of the prematurely born child.

OUR GOVERNMENT TODAY. By Finla Goff Crawford. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1935. 354 pp.

Those who applaud the trend away from the study of mere governmental structure and legalistic definition of spheres of governmental activity should welcome Professor Crawford's book. Two-thirds of the volume are devoted to analysis of what the federal, state, and local governments are doing in the fields of banking, transportation, public utilities, industry, agriculture, social security, relief, and education. Although the institutional analysis is applied to the Presidency, Congress, the Supreme Court, elections, and the party system, the merit of the book lies in its functional analysis of government, and its skilful avoidance of

the cluttering details which compromised the success of Charles A. Beard's functional approach in *The American Leviathan*.

The merely structural or institutional analysis has been defective because it largely conceives of government as static. The approach of constitutional lawyers has been so concerned with the establishment of the bounds beyond which government cannot go that it has ignored the importance of describing what government does or should do within the bounds established by constitutional provisions. *Our Government Today* regards government as an active force for the solution of social and economic problems. The problems are, therefore, sketched, American solutions attempted in the past are outlined and the present governmental policies are described with some fullness. The book is a handy reference work for those seeking a generalized, non-technical analysis of the New Deal's legislation. Teachers of political science will find it a useful text for their more elementary courses.

The posing of the problems of government is done through the lips of one William Nelson, a fictional "average man" introduced into the book "with some hesitancy" by the author; it is regrettable that the hesitancy was not sufficient to cause the elimination of Nelson, for the experiment is definitely unsuccessful. Minor defects in composition, inaccuracies in terminology (e.g. "Federal Deposit Guarantee Corporation" and "Federal Coördinator of Railroads"), factual errors (e.g. the characterization of the Farm Credit Administration, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and the Tennessee Valley Authority as "temporary administrative units"), lack of comprehensiveness in treating some functional fields (e.g. the failure to describe the new Federal Reserve organization), and typographical errors mar the effectiveness of an otherwise estimable book.

JAMES W. FESLER.
University of North Carolina.

THEFT, LAW, AND SOCIETY. By Jerome Hall. Introduction by K. N. Llewellyn. Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1936. 360 pp. $3.50.

Law schools, said Veblen, are devoted to the training of practitioners in duplicity, and lawyers, according to the same source, are exclusively occupied with the details of predatory fraud. It is a pleasure for sociologists to find increasingly frequent exceptions to these dicta in such works as that under review. Professor Hall's book deserves a prominent place in the growing library of American sociological jurisprudence, graced by such names as those of Pound, Holmes Frankfurter, Cardozo, Llewellyn, Oliphant, Moore, and Cook.

In Part I, Professor Hall devotes three chapters to an illuminating history of the law of theft, its interpretation, and administration. This part of the text is supported by a detailed analysis of the Carrier's Case of 1473 (in the Appendix) which in addition to reflecting the author's broad legal scholarship, is a fascinating account of the natural growth of law and legal administration. This is sociological "case" material of a high order. The story of how juries, prosecuting officials, and judges have through the centuries, down to and including the present, operated to circumvent laws which have been at variance with the current mores is a fine example of a most common technique of social adjustment, and the author does not neglect its sociological import. For he treats his subject throughout as a problem situation in which he sees "an interplay of vast, impersonal forces as well as the unceasing efforts of man directed at the considered use of means

to gain ends, and applied under the actuality or the illusion of power to modify his course of life." (p. 3).

The second main division of the book is devoted to an analysis of the business of receiving stolen property and the law governing this offense, special consideration of automobile theft, and finally a chapter (the best I have seen on the subject) on proposed reforms in the treatment for petty larceny.

One of the principal contributions of the voume is its insistence on the need for more refined analysis of the various behavior complexes now lumped together under the general category of crime. But the book is more than mere argument for such analysis. It is an admirable demonstration of the point. At the outset it confines itself to that behavior complex known as theft. But thefts are shown to be of widely disparate sorts which have nothing in common save the formal fact that they are all forbidden by law. This is illustrated by a consideration of such types as fur, silk, jewelry, and especially automobile thefts. But even auto theft must be broken up into at least three main types before intelligent social attack upon it is possible, namely, theft for "joy-rides" (the vast majority of cases), theft for sale, and theft for use in committing crime of some other nature.

When we shall have volumes like this on all other distinct types of crime, criminology will have materially improved its status as a science. That such a body of knowledge must be in large part the product of collaboration between jurists and sociologists or, what amounts to the same thing, of people familiar with both fields is clearly indicated by Hall's work. It may be, as he says, "problematic how far criminal behavior can be prevented by any deliberately planned agencies of control . . . Yet as regards that area within

which conscious, intelligent, and persistent efforts to ameliorate conditions may still be hoped to influence human behavior, measures must be applied which come to bear *in terms of the social problem involved*" (p. 287). It is in these terms that the phenomenon of theft is here analyzed. Students of criminology as well as lawyers and judges, not to mention the intelligent public, need to spend more time on monographs of this kind.

GEORGE A. LUNDBERG.
Columbia University.

ROOTS OF CRIME. By Franz Alexander and William Healy. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1935. 305 pp.

A grant from the Julius Rosenwald Fund enabled Dr. Alexander and Dr. Healy to undertake extended psychoanalytic studies of eleven criminals. The case records, in adequate detail, and certain general conclusions are reported in the present volume. The primary aim of the investigation was to solve problems of etiology and to determine at what period of life developing delinquent trends may most successfully be corrected.

All of the offenders selected for psychological analysis presented problems which had not yielded to previous conventional psychiatric, punitive, or foster-home treatment and their records were available. In some cases the earlier investigations had been made through the Judge Baker Foundation, now known as Judge Baker Guidance Center.

The psychoanalytic techniques and interpretative concepts used by Dr. Alexander and Dr. Healy are novel to a certain degree but reflect the influence of Adler very definitely and the influence of Freud and Jung slightly.

The central conclusion presented is that "the universal basis of criminal inclinations is the instability in the psychological

balance between social restrictions and gratification. It is evident that the distribution of satisfactions and deprivations of life is decisive in its influence on the stability of this balance." The mental processes of the individual must be studied "to determine the specific emotional factors and experiences which have disturbed the balance." Personalities with criminal inclinations are those who have acquired character trends which make them especially receptive to unfavorable environmental influences.

The authors are also interested in pointing out that much criminal activity is an over-compensatory reaction to an internally felt weakness and an unconscious infantile desire to be in a position of dependence.

ENGLISH BAGBY.
University of North Carolina.

IN THE SHADOW OF LIBERTY. By Edward Corsi. New York: The MacMillan Co., 1935. 321 pp. $3.50.

Corsi, former United States Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization, New York District, describes here the operation of immigration inspection, as well as the human side of Ellis Island. Himself an immigrant in childhood, the author has a remarkable ability in understanding the social forces of immigration, the human aspects of that problem and of some inhuman aspects of our immigration laws. He is human in his description by the very fact that he betrays his own prejudices; for instance, his attitude toward the Chinese is priceless, but obviously unfair. For that reason the book is not so much an impartial sociological study, as a human document, filled with rich anecdotes of world-famous people, accounts of strangers from weird lands Dervish dancers who would not eat food upon which the shadow of "infidels" had fallen, tales of anarchists and smugglers and royalty, and others. I would go even so far as to suggest that a required reading of this volume in our sociological courses will get more scholarly results than a required reading of several recent and excellent, although dry, scholarly works on immigration. For, as an immigrant myself, I am convinced more and more that most of our sociological works in America on immigration fail to understand the human side of the whole question. In that respect, Corsi's journalistic account is invaluable. It is salty, tingling, vivid, and highly entertaining. In fact, the book is as readable as it is instructive. To the student of the problem of immigration, the volume offers not only illumination but the lamp itself.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK.
New York University.

NEW BOOKS RECEIVED

PSYCHOLOGICAL-MONOGRAPHS. Trait-Names: A Psycho-lexical Study. By Gordon W. Allport and Henry S. Odbert. *Princeton: Psychological Review Company*, 1936. 171 pp.

ANDREW CARNEGIE CENTENARY, 1835–1935. New York: Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1935. 95 pp.

THE FAMILY ENCOUNTERS THE DEPRESSION. By Robert Cooley Angell. New York: Scribner's, 1936. 309 pp. $1.50.

ADOLESCENCE: A STUDY IN THE TEEN YEARS. By Lawrence Augustus Averill. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1936. 496 pp.

DER SNOBBISMUS BEI THACKERAY. By Werner Behmenburg. Düsseldorf: Dissertationsverlag G. H. Nolte, 1933. 127 pp.

PIONEERING WITH THE RED CROSS. By Ernest P. Bicknell. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1935. 281 pp.

THE TRANSPORTATION PROBLEM IN AMERICAN SOCIAL WORK. By Jeffrey R. Brackett. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1936. 38 pp. $0.25.

THE CONFERENCE ON LABOR LAW ADMINISTRATION, NEW YORK CITY, DECEMBER 9, 1935. Edited by Rosilla Hornblower Breed and Emily Sims Marconnier. New York: National Consumers' League, 1935. 26 pp. $0.25.

THE THEORY OF SOCIAL WORK. By Frank J. Bruno. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1936. 646 pp. $4.00.

ORGANIZING TO REDUCE DELINQUENCY: THE MICHIGAN PLAN FOR BETTER CITIZENSHIP. By Lowell Juilliard Carr. Ann Arbor: The Michigan Juvenile Delinquency Information Service, 1936. 62 pp. $0.25.

A REFERENCE GUIDE TO THE STUDY OF PUBLIC OPINION. By Harwood L. Childs with a preface by Edward L. Bernays. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1934. 105 pp. $2.00.

DIRECTORY OF PSYCHIATRIC CLINICS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1936. Compiled by Mary Augusta Clark. New York: The National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 1936. 64 pp.

PSYCHOLOGY OF ADOLESCENCE. By Luella Cole. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1936. 503 pp. $3.00.

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THE POPULATION PROBLEM AND WORLD DEPRESSION. By Louis I. Dublin. New York: Foreign Policy Association, Incorporated, 1936. 32 pp. $0.25.

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